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PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS
ON THE FIFTEENTH OF
OCTOBER JANUARY APRIL JULY

Editorial communications should be addressed to the Editors, Baldwin House, University of Toronto. All inquiries regarding subscriptions and advertising should be addressed to the Manager, The University of Toronto Press.

$2.00 a Year Three Years $5.00

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THE RCAF IN NEWFOUNDLAND

M. H. M. MacKinnon

THE major contributions of the RCAF in the war just ended were the provision of training facilities in Canada for many thousands of Allied airmen, and the maintenance of a large overseas air force, as part of the RAF and in the form of RCAF squadrons. Quite rightly most of the publicity has been given to these enterprises, since they were of first-line importance. Some notice should be taken however of the "home war" commands, on the East and West Coasts. The airmen and airwomen who served in these less dangerous areas had all volunteered for service anywhere in the world; they had no choice in the matter of where they went and consequently they often feel themselves unfairly discriminated against for having no overseas service. In addition to giving proper credit to them, this article is intended to help keep the record straight by describing exactly what the Canadian Air Force accomplished in one particular area of operations. There is no desire to disparage the work of other services or other nations; it is clear however that the RCAF will not be given due credit unless Canadians write about the subject. Finally, it is felt that the Canadian taxpayer is entitled to a better understanding of the use that was made of his money. With these general purposes in mind, the work of the RCAF in Newfoundland and Labrador will be outlined. Many of the activities carried on in this area were also carried on throughout the Maritimes, and, with certain differences, on the West Coast also. The Newfoundland-Labrador area is selected because the writer spent two years there with the RCAF, and because the Canadians there were working in partnership with American and British forces, and can thus be compared with those forces.

The RCAF of Eastern Air Command carried three main responsibilities: defence, anti-Uboat warfare, and the provision of bases for these and other allied purposes. The first of these, defence, was shared with the Army and the Navy. The Air Force provided fighter squadrons, and an elaborate fighter defence system involving radar stations, direction-finding stations, plotting rooms, and VHF (very high frequency) communications, modelled on the RAF system which saved Britain in 1940-41. Fortunately, this organization was never needed for its original purpose, which was to defend the vital ports and industries of the East Coast from enemy air or surface raiders. However, the squadrons were maintained until late in the war, and they provided operational training for fighter pilots preparing for overseas. The radar stations, which were constructed in a chain from the northern tip of Newfoundland to near the American border, were intended to provide early warning of enemy forces; not being needed for this purpose, they were employed to keep track of all aircraft flying within their range, and they soon became the greatest single aid to safety in flying on the foggy

East Coast. Many a lost plane was guided to its airport by instructions based on radar "plots." On one occasion an aircraft which had lost its bearings was headed out into the Atlantic with gas running low; the flying control officer at St. John's, Newfoundland, was able to pass by radio an order to fly a certain course; within two minutes the reports from radar stations, plotted on a huge map, showed that the plane was safely headed to base.

The fighter defence organization was a wise precaution against an attack that never came. If long-range enemy planes *had* tried to cripple the steel plant at Sydney, to catch a convoy in Halifax harbour, to destroy an anti-Uboat squadron in Newfoundland, or to slow up the flow of aircraft to Britain through Goose Bay and Gander, the Hurricanes would have been ready for them. Aggressive fighter aircraft, coupled with extensive anti-aircraft fire, would have prevented anything like accurate bombing.

The second responsibility of Eastern Air Command, the anti-Uboat warfare, was by far the most important. The patrol squadrons maintained throughout the Maritimes, Newfoundland, Labrador, and eventually in Iceland, were under the full control of Headquarters at Halifax. However, they worked in close co-operation with the RAF and USAAF squadrons of Coastal Command, which ranged out over the Atlantic from bases in Iceland, Ireland, Scotland, England, Gibraltar, North Africa, and the Azores. They used some common wireless frequencies with these Allied squadrons; in this way it was quite a normal occurrence for an RCAF crew out on patrol perhaps five hundred miles south-east of Cape Race, to hear the Morse code message from an Azores-based aircraft to its ground station telling of a Uboat sighted and attacked in a given position. And on occasion, our aircraft found it necessary to pass messages back to Newfoundland *via* the Gibraltar operator, whose high-powered transmitter could penetrate the static. There was a great feeling of comradeship among the various forces that covered the Atlantic.

When Liberator aircraft became available for anti-Uboat warfare in 1943, a squadron of these, the famous 10 Squadron, was established at Gander, Newfoundland, and an air umbrella over the Atlantic was theoretically possible. In actual practice, these planes did not often overlap with planes from the other side, but there were occasions when coverage for a convoy was provided so far out that the planes were instructed to go on and land in Ireland. The Liberators greatly supplemented the work of the smaller planes, the Hudsons, Cansos, Catalinas, and Venturas, and with their greater speed, range, and bomb-load, they were able to deal effectively with any surfaced Uboat. The actual number of "kills" by our aircraft is small, because after 1942 there simply were not many Uboats in the Western Atlantic, and those that did come over to this side could stay submerged for days and even weeks, with the underwater breathing device, the "Schnorkel." The hunting was never as good in the Western Atlantic as in certain other areas, the Bay of Biscay for instance. But the main consideration, as the crews were told frequently, was to make sure that convoys and troop-

ships got to Britain without serious losses. If the Uboats were afraid to join battle, so much the better. The last occasion on which a pack of Uboats made a determined resistance to combined air and surface attack was off the coast of Newfoundland in September, 1943. At that time the enemy was trying the tactics of fighting back on the surface, and the Uboats put up heavy anti-aircraft fire. While we suffered losses among the naval escort vessels, the convoy got through and the Germans took such a beating that they never tried those tactics again.

No one claims for the Air Force the major part of the credit for beating the Uboats, although in 1943 considerably more than half of all Uboats sunk were sunk by aircraft. On days when aircraft could not take off from their bases the Navy carried on the battle against the undersea forces. In mid-Atlantic, the convoys relied heavily on the reconnaissance planes of the "merchant aircraft carriers." The doom of the Uboats in the last year of the war was sounded by the "killer groups" of roving naval forces. But the Navy, despite inter-service rivalry, were never grudging in their praises of the airmen who circled over them for so many thousands of weary hours, rounding up stragglers, sweeping the areas ahead and astern and on both sides where submarines might be waiting. Most of these flyers never saw an enemy Uboat until the end of hostilities, but they kept up their intensive training schemes year after year; they never slacked in their jobs; and they fought another enemy more deadly to them than Uboats—weather. Many of these crews never found their way back to base, despite all the radio and navigational aids that were provided. It may have been dull work for the most part, but it was dangerous flying.

The fighter defence system and the anti-Uboat war, which have been briefly outlined, required large bases. So also did the ferrying of aircraft to the European theatre. Four large bases in Newfoundland and Labrador were maintained by the RCAF to serve the Allied air forces; as there has been considerable mention of these in the press and certain misconceptions are commonly held regarding them, a summary of the facts is in order.

Before the war, the British Air Ministry and the Newfoundland government jointly constructed two bases in north-eastern Newfoundland: Botwood and Gander. Botwood, on the Bay of Exploits, is a seaplane base for summer use only which the RCAF took over, enlarged, and operated partially for the benefit of American and British commercial companies maintaining a flying-boat service to Britain. In addition, the RCAF based a squadron there for anti-Uboat warfare and escort of convoys. Although Botwood never belonged to Canada, it was a Canadian responsibility during the war; Canadian control officers manned the tower and saw to it that the huge Clippers had all the necessary facilities for safe landing.

Gander was the pre-war landplane base from which various trans-Atlantic flights commenced. It was merely a single runway with a few frame buildings and a railway station when the RCAF took over. By the end of the war it was one of the important international airports. At one

time the runways were the largest in the world, and the traffic handled daily ran up into hundreds of planes. The main runway is still one of the widest anywhere: when a fighter squadron was based there it was not unusual to see a Hurricane take off *across*, instead of *down* the runway. Some of the runways were set aside for the parking of hundreds of four-motored aircraft on their way overseas. Three great camps were built around the sides of the airport: those of the RAFTC, the USAAF, and the RCAF. The construction of all buildings, the maintenance of roads and runways, the clearing of snow in winter, heating, electric power, water, telephone service, were the principal responsibilities of the RCAF as landlord. In addition, the Canadian Department of Transport installed the radio range, to provide the "beam" used by pilots to find the airport, and the RCAF maintained other radio aids such as a radio beacon and the British device, "Standard Beam Approach." The Canadian Army saw to the defence of the airport, and supplied rations for all Canadian forces. Both Canadians and Americans had hangars, hospitals, mess halls, living quarters and even large movie theatres for their thousands of personnel. Gander was a teeming city built in a wilderness of muskeg but connected to St. John's by the Newfoundland Railway, and to the mainland by daily plane service. The mail came in by TCA every day that weather permitted, and servicemen going out on leave were given free air transport to Moncton by the "Ganderberry" planes of 164 Squadron. This squadron, incidentally, maintained an almost daily service to Gander and Torbay, and to Goose Bay for about three years, with only one fatal accident, a record that would do credit to a commercial airline.

The best vantage point from which to see Gander airport was the control tower, where a complete view of the field was possible. On a typical day one would see about 150 Fortresses and Liberators lined up on the edges of the runways being serviced by American ground crews before they started out on the long hop to Britain. On another section of the field the RAF Transport Command had a crowd of Mosquitoes, Mitchells, and Lancasters waiting for the weather and the word to go. On the RCAF side, the white Liberators of 10 Squadron, bristling with machine-guns, and packed with the latest radio and radar devices, were being readied for the ceaseless Atlantic patrols; near them the Hurricanes were poised at two-minute readiness even though no enemy was expected. West of the field one could see the brilliant blue of Gander Lake, bitterly cold but with such a swift current that it never froze in winter. On the outskirts of the field, the radio masts of the various communications services could be seen, all carefully limited in height and well placed to reduce the flying hazard. Dozens of roads were laid out around the field, many of them so near the ends of runways that traffic lights were installed to prevent jeeps from running across in the path of an aircraft coming in low for a landing.

Gander was an exciting place to be. The Canadians have turned it back to the Newfoundland government now and the great stream of planes

through the base will probably never be repeated. Although there was some friction at times, the Canadians gained the respect of the Newfoundlanders, the Americans, and the British for their management of the international base, where understanding and co-operation were of great importance.

Botwood and Gander had existed as bases before the war. Two others, Torbay and Goose Bay, were entirely constructed and operated by the RCAF after war began. Torbay, just outside St. John's, was built by Canada as a specific war-time requirement, to provide an air base for defence of St. John's harbour and for coverage of Atlantic convoys. Fighter squadrons, long-range patrol squadrons, and shorter-range striking forces were maintained at Torbay by the RCAF to protect the nearby shipping lanes. The base has also served as the eastern terminus for TCA, so that with favourable weather daily airmail service from Canada is possible; in addition, travellers may go from St. John's to Montreal, Toronto, or New York in a matter of hours, whereas to go by train and boat takes several days.

Torbay, being on the coast, is subject to fog; nevertheless, it is an excellent field, well equipped with runways and hangars to accommodate the largest aircraft. Probably its strategic location is the greatest asset of Torbay airport. During the war, for instance, planes from an aircraft carrier off the coast were able to land safely at Torbay when their mother ship became shrouded in fog. On many occasions, when a submarine-attack alarm was received from ships on the North Atlantic, aircraft from Torbay could reach the scene of action first. Whatever the future disposition of this base may be, it was a good Canadian investment.

Goose Bay is one of the most talked of airports on this continent. An interesting book has been written describing its early history and the life of the men who served at Goose.[1] The Canadian public may sometimes be confused by finding Goose prominently displayed in advertisements showing the chain of great American airports that circle the globe. The facts are that Canadians picked the site, built the field, operated it throughout the war, and have a ninety-nine year lease on it for military purposes. Located on Hamilton Inlet, some forty miles up from the coast of Labrador, Goose has as high a percentage of flying weather as any base on the East Coast. The runways are solid concrete, laid on the remarkable sand plateau. The construction of Goose broke all records for speed and ingenuity. The first planes landed only a few months after the site was selected, and a year later the airport was practically finished. As at Gander, the buildings and essential services were a Canadian responsibility and the Americans and British were our tenants. For a year or two a few RCAF planes operated out of Goose on Atlantic patrols, and air-sea rescue aircraft were maintained throughout the war. But for the most part its role was that of a base for the American and British transport commands. The

[1] W. G. Carr, *Checkmate in the North* (Toronto, 1944).

RAFTC and USATC had their jump-off airports at Montreal and in northern New England respectively; Gander and Goose were the refuelling points. Here the crews rested for a few hours, were briefed on their trip, and waited for the weather. In addition to the ferry aircraft, mail planes, supply planes, and passenger planes carrying V.I.P.'s (Very Important Persons) went through Goose. Through it also our squadron in Iceland maintained its communications with Eastern Air Command, and from Goose rescue and emergency flights were operated. Although navigation by sea to Goose is open only about three months of the year, during that time a year's supply of staple foods, gasoline, and other heavy goods can be taken in, and air freight can supply the necessary fresh foods and other routine needs. When Labrador is eventually opened up and its natural resources developed, Goose will be the logical site for an important city.

The large undertakings which have been discussed, defence, protection of shipping, and the provision of bases, were not the only achievements of Eastern Air Command in Newfoundland. A long-distance telephone system, for instance, was maintained to connect St. John's, Gander, and Botwood; and at each of these bases an RCAF telephone detachment looked after all switchboards and local phones. The efficiency of these men was shown at Gander one winter morning when a ferry aircraft which crashed on take-off carried away the main telephone cables. Although the crash occurred about three in the morning, the telephone crews were out on the job within a few minutes and by dawn they had service restored to important points. These telephone men won the admiration of all the Allied forces at the airport; they carried civilian standards of efficient service into an area where civilian supplies were not always available.

Canadians scored another success in the communications field by the provision of télephone circuits for military use between Halifax and St. John's. There was a pressing need for Navy and Air Force Headquarters in Halifax to be able to talk directly to their commanders in Newfoundland: the wireless and cable services were too slow for some orders. What was needed was a telephone service that was reasonably safe from enemy interception, and that could be put up quickly. The Americans agreed to build long-distance lines from the part of south-western Newfoundland nearest to Nova Scotia, which would connect with their trans-Newfoundland telephone cable and thus extend the service around to St. John's. The Canadian government for its part agreed to provide additional land line from Halifax to the point in Nova Scotia nearest to Newfoundland. There still remained Cabot Strait, which for various reasons could not be crossed by a submarine cable. Accordingly, the RCAF ordered FM (frequency modulation) transmitter-receiver stations built on the highest point of land on each side of Cabot Strait. The range of this type of radio transmission is roughly optical range: that is, the beam of very high radio frequency is like a searchlight. When aimed at a distant station, the transmission will be picked up only if the earth's curvature does not

block it. In this case, the distance was about one hundred miles, and there was some doubt as to how reliable the circuits might be. The frequencies used were in a new range, the equipment was built specially for the job, and the whole thing was in the nature of an experiment. The Canadian company which made the installation was as pleased as the RCAF when the tests were successful and when continuous service was provided. The telephone circuits were of such excellent quality that engineers from Canada and the United States frequently obtained permission to visit the installations and examine them. The RCAF put in detachments of ten men at the three radio relay stations, New Waterford and Cape North in Nova Scotia, and Table Mountain in Newfoundland. (The third station was necessary because no land line was available at Cape North.) These men kept the stations operating despite all the difficulties of living in isolation. Among the difficulties experienced at Table Mountain was food; when rations became dangerously low they asked for and received supplies dropped by parachute. Another serious situation arose when their buried water-pipe froze. They solved that problem themselves by connecting the output of one huge Diesel generator to the frozen pipe and melting it by electricity. The weather conditions were incredibly bad. Winds that exceeded seventy-five miles per hour were not uncommon, so that a life-line was strung between buildings for the men to cling to when crawling across. But the loneliness, the weather, and the difficulties of living in such a remote spot did not prevent these men from doing their job well, and without complaint.

Another outstanding Canadian achievement was in weather forecasting. The North Atlantic forecasting services maintained at Gander and at Goose were of vital importance for getting planes overseas. A mistake in the estimate of the weather that would be encountered en route might mean that the pilot would have to fly through icing conditions or heavy precipitation, under dangerously low cloud ceilings, or perhaps against strong head winds. Naturally, then, all the services depended on their weather-men to be accurate in the estimating of probabilities. The Canadian Meteorological Service sent its men in to Gander in 1941 to do the forecasting for the RAFTC as well as for the RCAF. Later when the American weather-men came, they received help and instruction from the experienced Canadian forecasters. When an article appeared in a leading American magazine claiming that the RAFTC had been losing one plane in six on the Atlantic crossing until the American weather service men came in to help,[2] all the camps at Gander were indignant. Of course no such percentage of planes was lost at any time on that route, and although the Americans did eventually contribute a great deal of information, at first they were glad to have the assistance of the Canadian forecasters.

Despite such annoying incidents as this, relations between Americans and Canadians were normally most friendly. In communications, for

[2] *Fortune*, XXX, Nov., 1944, 158.

instance, there was complete reciprocity; we handled any messages they wished sent to Canadian points, and they were ready to do the same for us. Entertainment facilities were used jointly, so that on a given evening at Gander or Goose, Canadians would be crowding into the American movie theatre to see the latest films, while the local broadcast station, operated by the RCAF, provided good programmes for the whole camp. The Canadians were responsible for getting the snow off the runways at Gander, but if they needed an extra bull-dozer on occasion they simply phoned the Americans. And when an emergency arose, particularly one concerning a plane in difficulties, nationality disappeared.

The RCAF was brought into close contact with both the Americans and British when the Airway Traffic Control system was introduced late in the war, to regulate the flow of planes on the busy air routes. The important duty of operating this system on the East Coast was assumed by Canada, although the major part of the air traffic was not Canadian. At Halifax, Goose Bay, and St. John's, the RCAF set up control centres from which orders went out to all planes within the controlled areas; particularly under conditions of poor visibility it was essential that traffic on the main routes be carefully regulated, with each plane flying at an assigned height separated by a specified number of minutes from other planes at that height. On days when hundreds of ferry aircraft were pouring into Gander or Goose Bay, the Canadian ATC officers were kept very busy answering calls, glancing at complex charts, and issuing clearances in a matter of seconds. As the safety of aircraft was involved, any inefficiency in this branch of the RCAF would not have improved relations with our allies. Far from being a source of friction however, the ATC centres gained considerable prestige for Canadians.

Little has been said so far about how Canadians got on with the Newfoundlanders. As most of their fighting men were overseas it was the Newfoundland civilians with whom the RCAF personnel came in contact. The verdict of practically every Canadian was that although the average Newfoundlander was poor, he was certainly the most generous man one could meet. In well-to-do homes in St. John's or in the humblest shack in the "outports," a hearty welcome was always extended to Canadians. Fortunately we were able to make some return for this warm-hearted generosity. Both at Gander and at Goose Bay, the RCAF hospitals were comfortably large so that without interfering with our own cases, civilian patients could be accepted. In cases of serious illness, the RCAF would even pick up the patient and bring him to hospital by aircraft. The reliable Norseman, a Canadian aircraft, fitted with floats in summer and skis in winter, would fly to the remotest fishing village in case of emergency, taking along a doctor and nurse. In many cases, the pilot could not be sure, in advance, of the nature of his emergency landing field; but in every case the patient was safely delivered to the hospital. On one occasion a medical officer and pharmacist had to be left behind in a fishing community for a

few days until the plane could return to bring them out. During those few days they gave the people of that district all the medical care they could; they pulled teeth and they delivered babies; and when they returned to Gander they ordered sent to the community a shipment of rations that more than made up for what they had eaten.

There is a lot more to tell about the activities of the RCAF in Newfoundland, but the space is not available here. A book could be written on the life of our men on the isolated radar stations around the island; the detachments close to civilization got mail once a month or so, others once a winter. And there are many good stories about the flyers. One of these concerns a crew that was ordered to fly from Torbay to the Azores and back for training purposes. They followed instructions, except that they returned by way of Gibraltar, Casablanca, Dakar, Natal, and New York (where, strange to say, they were held up for a few days by engine trouble). When they finally reached their base, they had some explaining to do. Officially they were in hot water, but unofficially they were admired for their daring.

The RCAF personnel in Newfoundland were not poor relations of the Americans or British. They were charged with heavy responsibilities, and they acquitted themselves well. Canadian prestige is certainly high among the Newfoundland population and among the men of the Allied services as well. While we learned to respect the industry and intelligence of the British, the enthusiasm and ingenuity of the Americans, and the powers of endurance and whole-heartedness of the Newfoundlanders, we learned something of our own abilities too. In this particular theatre of operations Canadians had a chance to show their allies that in technical matters as well as in matters requiring tact and co-operation we could at least hold our own.

ON THE MORTALITY OF LETTERS

A. E. Carter

Exegi monumentum aere perennius . . .
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere aut innumerabilis
Annorum series et fuga temporum.
Non omnis moriar. . . .

NO modern poet would dare to write with such assurance. Yet if any conscientious Roman had questioned Horace, it would only have been to ask whether his talent were of the immortal kind. For to the critics of antiquity, the immortality of great poetry, of any great literary form, was axiomatic. They lived in an aesthetically stable world. There had been only one literature (only one aesthetic theory of any kind, indeed) before Latin; and it was more universally admired and imitated in that first century of the Empire than it had been under Pericles. Provided Horace possessed a spark of that fire which distinguished Homer and Pindar, Sappho and Aeschylus, there seemed no reason why his work should not fulfil his boast and outlive the pyramids.

And for nearly two thousand years it seemed well on the way to doing so—along with all the other literature of the ancient world. The Greek authors, it is true, retreated during the dark ages to the East to burn with an exclusively Byzantine flame. But Latin remained the staple of medieval learning; and with the Renaissance and a return of appreciation of the niceties of style, Horace's reputation even increased. From the twelfth century to our own time, his place was secure on any programme of classical culture. And his assurance of immortality, which he shared with most other classical authors, and which meant, fundamentally, a belief in the worth and dignity of his art, exercised a singularly bracing effect upon all the vulgar literatures of Europe. The Renaissance, Neo-classicism, Romanticism, Art for Art's Sake, all doctrines and all schools were oriented towards immortality. A crowd of writers including such disparate figures as Shakespeare, Malherbe, Ronsard, Milton, Boileau, Flaubert, and Gautier, all wrote consciously with an eye on posterity. Some even wrote exclusively for posterity. The doctrine of immortality developed as time passed; there were periods when an author could console himself for contemporary neglect by thinking of the future—an exaggeration of Horace's idea which neither Horace nor an age of practical aesthetics such as the seventeenth century would have understood. Horace's art had proved itself greater than its period, greater than the religion which inspired it. He still charmed the imaginations of men when pontiff and vestal no longer took the road to the Capitol, and Rome herself had become another of the legends of history. It was inevitable that such an ideal should become the lasting preoccupation of any ambitious author.

To man, caught between the contradictions of his transitory nature and a conviction of his own importance, immortality of any sort is a comforting doctrine, and one which he is unlikely ever to abandon completely. But, at least in literature, it is a doctrine which has suffered much in the last eighty or ninety years. Had Horace returned to examine his literary reputation at any time up to 1900, he could only have pronounced himself satisfied. But if he returned today . . .? The situation is not encouraging. He may still be esteemed, but he is less and less read. And this fate has overtaken the great majority of the Greek and Latin classics. It is true that the apparatus of criticism is still at work. Editions continue to appear; the Loeb series proceeds on its stately way; translations at popular prices are on all the bookstalls. And the inexhaustible fecundity of the printing-press has ensured them a printed durability which they did not know in ancient times. But such numerical considerations are quite futile. A book may be much printed and little read; and in any case it is not how many, but who reads it that counts. Besides, the universality of modern literacy can only militate against works of the kind produced by antiquity. It is only in illiterate ages that great books have influence, because it is only in such ages that education has any prestige. In a period of universal or nearly universal enlightenment, education defeats its own end, and the popular demand is all for easy reading. Pure literature must confine itself to a very small circle, because the *élite* which patronizes it can no longer impose its aesthetic will upon the world at large.

Even if we suppose that the modern *élite* were capable of imposing its will, however, would the classics of antiquity benefit much from the change? It is possible to doubt it. Take representative works of any number of modern writers—Dos Passos, Hemingway, Lewis, Mauriac, Aldous Huxley: what evidence of classical learning, of classical influence, do they show? Not much more than might have been picked up in a youthful reading of *Tanglewood Tales* or a glance at the nearest classical dictionary. Compare such a group of contemporaries with Dryden, Pope, Swift, Corneille, and Racine, or even with Shelley, Keats, and Victor Hugo, and the distance modern literature has moved from its classical past is at once apparent. This is perhaps the most sinister characteristic of the decline of interest in the Greek and Latin classics. It is understandable that the *canaille* should not read them; it is disastrous when the *élite* does not.

What are the reasons for this neglect? There is first, of course, the obvious one of language. A book begins to die from the day it is published; and after a thousand years it is fatally ossified beneath the limelike deposits of dead syntax. Greek and Latin are not easy languages; and they guard like dragons the enchanted princesses of style. Into the bargain, vulgar literature, which was non-existent (or at least had no prestige) for a thousand years after the collapse of Graeco-Roman culture, and which for two or three centuries after the Renaissance had need of models, has long since advanced into lusty middle life—even occasionally into senile old age.

Faced by the multitudinous brilliance of the literatures of Italy, France, England, and Germany, written, too, in relatively easy languages, and languages which have immediate and practical value, the student is bound to hesitate before choosing Latin or Greek. He may content himself with translations and postpone his initiation into classical lore until a more favourable moment—a moment which never comes. He may master a few rudiments of classical syntax. But he seldom goes far enough to taste the perfections of Greek or Latin style as Racine and Dr. Johnson tasted them. Modern civilization, with its complex requirements and its seductive helter-skelter, makes impossible the mellow tranquillity necessary for a proper understanding of Virgil and Sophocles. The highest compliment our contemporaries pay the Greeks and Latins is to regret that they do not know them.

There is another and more profound reason. The Middle Ages and the Renaissance inherited to a large extent the elegant narrowness of antiquity. Whatever was outside Hellenism, outside the Empire, was barbarous. A man of taste, a man of learning, could not only dispense with it; he must positively forego it—for the sake of his immortal discernment. This aesthetic fact is another manifestation of the tremendous egocentricity which enabled Western civilization to conquer the world. The Greeks and Romans might toy with Egyptian and Persian ideas; they turned them into good Greek and Latin. Even Christianity was rapidly Graecized, Latinized. With the return of purely classical ideals during the Renaissance, the process was intensified. The orientalism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was assimilated, turned to purposes of creative imitation. The France of Louis XV imported quantities of K'ang Hsi vases; but they never appeared in the drawing-room until they had been acclimatized with a claw of gilt bronze. But with the nineteenth century other forces came into play. The virus of aesthetic relativity, which had begun its attacks even before the end of the *ancien régime*, acquired new vigour in a social organism shaken by revolution. And the breakdown of the old ideals at home coincided with a prodigious extension of European conquest abroad. Shorn of his aesthetic *cordon sanitaire*, Western man found himself in the presence of the immemorial, hieratic civilizations of Asia; found himself, thanks to the camera, the telegraph, the improved means of transportation, more immediately, more tellingly in their presence than ever before. His crumbling traditions disappeared like dust in this decisive blast. From then on all aberrations were in order: the slavish reproduction of Egyptian temples, the taste for Chinese tea-houses, the passion for Negro sculpture as opposed to Greek. The connection with the classical past, which linked both Middle Ages and Renaissance in an unbroken tradition, was lost completely. As a result we live in an age of unparalleled aesthetic timidity. Reims cathedral, wrecked in the First World War, has recently been restored with all the painstaking complications of Gothic minutiae. Had the disaster occurred during the eighteenth

century, the building would have been re-erected in contemporary, in neo-classic style. But the twentieth century has too many tastes to be confident of any single one. The modern school of architecture has never received the hearing accorded the neo-classic school—despite the fact that it is a much less radical departure from previous standards (such as they were) than Classicism was from Gothic. The Western world, indeed, has lost confidence in its own aesthetic powers.

The decline of Greek and Latin stems fundamentally from this fact. Western man, in his contacts with the complexities of Southern and Eastern cultures, has been conditioned against his own classical past, which he now finds insipid by comparison with the gaudy splendours of China or India or the Gold Coast. The indifference of the modern *literati* to Horace and Pindar is paralleled by the indifference of the modern artist to Phidias and Praxiteles. And since Graeco-Roman civilization is the past of all Western culture, this means indifference to the past of European civilization. We are often told nowadays that we live in a transitory period, in a state of flux. The truth of the assertion is nowhere better demonstrated than in the dust and neglect which shroud the classical stacks of the library. Greek and Latin have taught us that literature too can die.

And so no modern author dares to claim immortality. The ghosts of his classical predecessors are on hand to remind him that they too accomplished all the miracles of style and harmony, that they too were once adored, and that they are no longer read. Nor are all the ghosts Greek and Latin. Oblivion, which advances shadow-like behind us at some two or three centuries' distance, has already engulfed more than one master of the vulgar tongues. "We retire harassed and overburdened, and look elsewhere for recreation." Dr. Johnson's dictum on Milton is true of nearly any immortal of the more or less immediate past. The salt of culture-snobbery may embalm him in the conversation of the tea-hour, or he may receive perfunctory lip-service from the lecture platform. But usually even such homage as this is too great. At most he survives in the seminar-room, and the exasperation of the graduate student prolongs his memory for a few generations. All this is present to the mind of the ambitious author. Try as he may, his volume will someday lie unregarded in the second-hand book-shop, his library card wither unscribbled in the steam-heat of the stacks. He is conscious of his eventual nullity, and it broods heavily over his work. The writers of our time have lost confidence in the significance of their work. Sometimes they have even denied the permanent value of literature. No less a high priest of modern letters than D. H. Lawrence disliked the immortal work simply because it was immortal—larger than life, trying to be greater than human and therefore becoming inhuman. He preferred, Mr. Aldous Huxley tells us, the folk-song, which rises spontaneously in answer to an immediate emotion, and then dies away. If occasionally one of our writing contemporaries casts an eye towards posterity, he withdraws it quickly, as if he had

been caught cheating at cards. It has become bad taste to pretend to semi-divine honours. Baudelaire, in whose work the tendency is already marked, in spite of his passion for form and his devotion to art, only ventures to assure his mistress that she *may* be remembered,

> . . . si mon nom
> Aborde heureusement aux époques lointaines.

And when Yeats paraphrased Ronsard's sonnet to Hélène de Surgères, he carefully omitted any reference to *louange immortelle*. How different is this from the tone of an Ovid prophesying the future success of his *Metamorphoses*, or a Shakespeare addressing Mr. W. H.! Even the greatest of the moderns have learned to expect oblivion as a possibility—if not a certainty.

Of course Horace's boast is not entirely empty. *Non omnis moriar*. . . . No, *non omnis*. But how little remains! A few pages of incomprehensible print, a volume inaccessibly placed upon the highest shelf, an author familiar in nothing but name: these are too often the only vestiges of the great work and the polished phrase. Literature endures little better than any other of mankind's multifarious activities. The past bequeaths itself to us impartially; we know as much about its folly and vice as about its greatness and its virtue. Genius is no guarantee of survival. Mummy-cases too can survive, and rouge-pots, and dice, and the dusty hair of a contemporary of Rameses II, while whole books of Tacitus, whole tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides, disappear with no trace but the foot-note of a scholiast. Formerly, such catastrophes could be attributed to the unenlightenment of a barbarous age. Alas! It remained for our time to shatter that last illusion. In a period of complex civilization, we have seen great books die more completely than they ever died when Alaric rode the length of Italy. Their physical survival, the sterile permanence of print and foot-note, is an ironic comment on the futility of scholarship, and a sinister prophecy of what contemporary literature must some day expect. The Muses have been stripped of their pretensions. Since Western civilization emerged from the Aegean, they have nourished man with a constant hope: that, despite his grotesque wretchedness of spirit and body, the well-wrought line, the careful expression of truth in terms of compelling beauty, could vanquish time and clothe human failure with tragic form. Now this promise has been exploded. And like all divinities whose promises come to nothing, they have no alternative but departure. They are taking leave of us, perhaps forever; are slowly descending to that region of the shades where, as the sweet Maro hath it, all colours are dim, all voices mute, and the sombre halls of Pluto are forever desolate.

> Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram,
> Perque domos Ditis vacuas, et inania regna. . . .

CLIO IN CANADA: THE INTERPRETATION OF CANADIAN HISTORY

W. L. Morton

IN Canada much effort has now been given to historical research. Much less attention, to all appearances, has been devoted to problems of historical criticism, particularly to those which arise when the field of reference is narrowed down to that of national history. Yet certain well-defined interpretations of Canadian history have been developed, and have shaped historical thought in Canada and popular understanding of Canadian history. This paper intends no more than to raise the questions: upon what critical premises have these interpretations been raised, and what has been their effect in terms of historical thinking and popular knowledge?

Criticism implies standards, and standards imply function. It is submitted that the standards of historical criticism are in the long run empiric, the historian's knowledge of his subject and, to a varying lesser degree, of his times and his fellow men. In Professor Barzun's words: "the worth of history consists . . . in the diagnostic power that it develops."[1] The function of historical study is to put questions to ascertainable relics of the past. As R. G. Collingwood remarks:

> Each question and each answer in a given complex [has] to be relevant or appropriate, [has] to 'belong' both to the whole and to the place it [occupies] in the whole. Each question [has] to 'arise'; there must be that about it whose absence we condemn when we refuse to answer a question on the ground that it 'doesn't arise.' Each answer must be the 'right' answer to the question it professes to answer.
>
> By 'right' I do not mean 'true.' The 'right' answer to a question is the answer which enables us to get ahead with the process of questioning and answering.[2]

But what determines the questions the historian puts? He puts a question because he wants an answer, not a particular answer to a question, but an answer to a particular question. That question is determined by his interest in it, the interest arising out of his experience. That is, he wishes to extend and confirm his experience. The interest of his readers will be the same as his own, to extend and confirm their experience. Prejudice may prevent their doing so; new facts may modify old, new arguments engender new convictions. But the new knowledge and the fresh judgment must be assimilable to experience, or they will be rejected.

If the interpretation of history, then, is in terms of experience, it follows that the historical judgment of a man or group will conform to the historical experience of that man or group. Men's interest in history would indeed be narcissistic, were it not that what they perceive in history is not an image but a portrait.

[1]Jacques Barzun, "History, Popular and Unpopular" in *The Interpretation of History*, ed. by Joseph R. Strayer (Princeton, 1943), 50.

[2]R. G. Collingwood, *An Autobiography* (London, 1939), 37.

It is for this reason that history is peculiarly the consolation of the conquered. To the oppressed the memory of past freedom gives hope in present despair; to the humiliated the recollection of past glory restores some measure of self-respect. It inspires, above all, the determination to survive. The independence of Eire, the nationalism of India, the survival of French Canada, point the observation.

History, so operating, is of course the history of folk-memory, of tale and ballad, or the work of the antiquarian and the genealogist, naive, mythic, usually tendentious, often inaccurate. Yet even "objective" history, the history of the academic scholar, works creatively in the social order whether by reinforcing tradition or by opening new paths of thought. However it may operate, it does operate—*e pur si muove*. Even though a given historical work were objective beyond the dictum of Becker (that every historian is biased at least in his determination not to be biased), it cannot fail to be part of the development of thought in its time, springing from it, pushing it forward, turning it into new channels.

The present argument is not meant, of course, as a condonation of partisanship in historical study. Rather it is a comment on that relativity of historical study in fields of limited reference, such as the nation, which Toynbee discusses in *A Study of History*. "In any age of any society," he remarks, "the study of history, like other social activities, is governed by the dominant tendencies of the time and place," and prefaces his discussion with a quotation from Xenophanes: "The Aethiopians say that their Gods are snub-nosed and black-skinned, and the Thracians that theirs are blue-eyed and red-haired. If only oxen and horses had hands and wanted to draw with their hands or to make the works of art that men make, then horses would draw the figures of their Gods like horses, and oxen like oxen, and would make their bodies on the models of their own."[3] The historian is part of the society he studies; it is only by increasing his frame of reference that he may diminish the relativity of his thought. Happy is he who escapes the perils of social anthropomorphism; the historian of colonial nationalism is the least likely to do so.

On Canadian history the foregoing remarks have a special bearing. Formed of the sherds of two empires, of fragments of Europe's most obstinate nationalities, cast down on the northern margin of habitable North America, the Canadian peoples were brought together in Confederation, not for the increase of liberty or the ends of justice, which were taken for granted, but to meet certain commercial, strategic, and imperial purposes. On the ancient imperial controls, dissolving under the acid of self-government, were imposed the new controls of federalism. The old imperialism was perpetuated in Sections 90 and 91 of the British North America Act of 1867. Before the old restraints had been forgotten, before communal and local rancours had been dissipated, there were new bonds to chafe at, a

[3]A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London, 1934), I, 1.

new claim to allegiance to stifle the simple loyalties of religion, race, and region.

Though the rights of Quebec were re-affirmed at Confederation, Quebec was faced with the prospect of an Ontario strengthened by a Protestant and Anglo-Saxon West, and the submergence of the French dispersion in a British sea. To whom the West? Nor was the West, except for British Columbia, to be admitted as an equal when population warranted: it was annexed as a subordinate territory, except for the grudging acknowledgment, in the creation of Manitoba, of Riel's resistance.

Thus there emerged the three decisive fields of Canadian historical interpretation: the French survival, the dominance of Ontario, and the subordination of the West, decisive in the sense that each is "an intelligible field of study" and in that each has its peculiar problems to be worked out in terms decisive for any interpretation of Canadian history as a whole. For the purpose of this essay, the maritime sections of Canada, both Atlantic and Pacific, may be set aside from consideration, not because they do not constitute fields of historical study of great interest and importance, or have not felt the Laurentian dominance, but because, susceptible as they are to the pull of their counterparts to the south and of imperial ties nourished by a common interest in the sea, they have always possessed destinies alternative to that of incorporation in Canada. Without them Canada in some sense might have been; without any one of the three "decisive" sections there could have been, in the larger sense of the name, no Canada.

It is in these three fields that the understanding of Canadian history as a whole is to be sought and found. What, then, has been the development of our historical knowledge of Canada so far?

In French Canada the theme from Garneau to Groulx has been survival, *la survivance canadienne-française*. That the faith, the language, and the civil law should continue has been the first imperative; the second is that the French be self-governing and equal to the English in Confederation. In British Canada, too, the emphasis has been on survival, for as the French were threatened by assimilation to the English, so the English were threatened by absorption into the United States. There was, too, the demand for self-government which triumphed as it cleared itself of the charge of being a prelude to annexation. This latter theme has been worked extensively by English-Canadian historians and has reached its climax in the work of Professors Kennedy and Martin.

Survival and self-government, that is, were the original themes of Canadian historical study. But these were narrowly political, essentially colonial, and were not infrequently developed in a somewhat antiquarian spirit. It is not surprising, therefore, that in recent years they should have been supplanted in English Canada by what may be termed the Laurentian theme: the metropolitan destiny of the St. Lawrence River, in pythonic struggle with the Hudson, to exploit economically and unite politically the northern half of the continent.

This new theme it is which flails new grain from the old straw of political history, which gives a certain unity to the history of the scattered pockets of settlement which are Canada, and reveals the drives of self-government and national consolidation. Irrigated by these waters the desert of Canadian history has produced at least two pages where only one fluttered before. Professor D. G. Creighton's *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence* and *Dominion of the North*, with the allied work of Professors Innis and Lower on the staple trades, have raised Canadian history to major stature and given it a depth of meaning and brilliance of treatment comparable to any contemporary work.

Yet, handled though it is at the highest level of scholarship, this theme drives home one point, makes one ineffaceable impression: not by explicit statement, but in strong overtone it affirms the Laurentian dominance. For the historian cannot be neutral: he must judge deliberately or in default.

Thus it is of the greatest significance that when one turns to American history for a theme of comparable fructifying effect, one finds it in Turner's frontier thesis. In the frontier Turner found the American quality of American history. It was, according to this thesis, in virtue of the frontier experience that the American people became American. But, according to the Laurentian thesis, it was the commercial system of the St. Lawrence which made Canada, not a folk movement wringing from the harsh, common life of the frontier a national character and way of life, but a scheme of commercial exploitation, Hamiltonian in its politics, imperialistic in its methods, aiming not at political justice but at commercial profits.

It is, therefore, of the first importance to examine what the implications of the Laurentian thesis are for the future of historical studies in Canada, and for the national character they will help to shape.

In the first place, the Laurentian thesis is preoccupied with economic factors in the national history. This analysis of Canadian economic history begun by Adam Shortt almost two generations ago, was a very necessary part of the study of national development. The result was to reveal the preponderant part commercial monopoly and centralized business have played in that development from the great fur-trading companies to the vast concentrations of today. The total picture is that of a metropolitan economy, centering in Montreal and Toronto.

This is no doubt a correct representation of the actual facts. But economic thought is in its very nature deterministic. The divorce of economics and ethics was long since made absolute, and outside the moral sphere there is no freedom. That is, the Laurentian thesis is properly concerned with the play of economic factors, which follow the fleeting but irresistible lure of the price indices, and it has taken for granted what was irrelevant to it, namely, justice as between race and race and section and section.

Such an economically determined metropolitanism implies political

imperialism, at least when the metropolitan power has competitors of equal or greater power. Pressed by American and British rivals, Canadian business could not enjoy the cheap profits of "informal" empire, to borrow C. R. Fay's phrase, as Britain could in the nineteenth and the United States can in the twentieth century. Confederation was brought about to realize the commercial potentialities of the St. Lawrence. Where self-government existed it was recognized; where the people of territory annexed resisted, it was granted but starved of the means to live; where they had an alternative and were too distant to be intimidated, it was granted in full. But there was nothing like the American Ordinance of 1787, providing for the automatic extension of freedom with population, every sixty thousandth free inhabitant bringing statehood with him,[4] no colonial policy making the extension of Canadian rule concomitant with the spread of self-government; there was only from 1869 to 1930 the old hateful wrangle by which Eastern Canada had formerly worried Downing Street into granting responsible government. An interpretation of history in economic terms, of necessity follows the pattern of commercial imperialism it undertakes to trace.

From commercial monopoly and political centralization to cultural uniformity the step is short. When a commercial empire has been founded and a federal union set up, it is almost impossible in the twentieth century not to assume that a nation too has been created, or is in process of creation. But there are in fact two nationalities and four geographical sections in the Canadian union.

The implications of the Laurentian thesis are, then, a metropolitan economy, a political imperialism of the metropolitan area, and uniformity of the metropolitan culture throughout the hinterlands. It is not asserted that any of the scholars who have developed this theme have stated these implications categorically, or necessarily intended them. They are submitted as a fair deduction from the thesis as expounded. No quarrel, of course, is intended with the thesis as such. To repeat, it is a legitimate approach to Canadian history; its results are the most enlightening yet achieved in Canadian historical scholarship. Among scholars and intelligent laymen it can have none but stimulating and fruitful effects.

But the danger inherent in it will become apparent when, after many processes of digestion at least as crude as that to which it has been subjected here, the Laurentian thesis percolates downward into the text-book and the schoolroom. Then its implications cannot but be misleading both to those brought up in the metropolitan area and those brought up in the hinterlands. Teaching inspired by the historical experience of metropolitan Canada cannot but deceive, and deceive cruelly, children of the outlying sections. Their experience after school will contradict the instruction of the history class, and develop in them that dichotomy which characterizes

[4]The Ordinance, of course, provided for retention of control of public lands by the federal government, as did the Manitoba Act of 1870 (Section 30).

all hinterland Canadians, a nationalism cut athwart by a sense of sectional injustice.

For Confederation was brought about to increase the wealth of Central Canada, and until that original purpose is altered, and the concentration of wealth and population by national policy in Central Canada ceases, Confederation must remain an instrument of injustice.

As long as the sense of sectional injustice remains, and as long as the French feel that they are not admitted to equality in Confederation, there can be no commonly acceptable interpretation of Canadian history and no common text-book, as proposed two years ago, for Canadian schools. For the interpretation of Canadian history which will satisfy the experience of British Canada will contradict that of French Canada; and so for Central Canada and the West.

For indeed the sectionalism of the West is, in different terms, as justified as the French nationalism of Quebec or the British nationalism of Ontario. Turner's comparison of the sections of the American union to the nations of Europe is relevant to Canada also. Not only is there driven between East and West the blunt wedge of the Shield. Not only is there the clash of economic interest caused by difference in resources, climate, and stage of economic development. There are also environmental differences so great as to be seldom appreciated. The West is plains country, with few, though great resources, a harsh and hazardous climate, and an inflexible economy. So domineering is this environment that it must change people and institutions greatly from those of the humid forest regions of the East. The West, for example, has long faced the problem of paying fixed rates of interest with returns from a very "unfixed" rainfall.

There is finally the fact that the West was annexed to Confederation as a subordinate region and so remained for sixty years. Such was the historical schooling of the West. It had, therefore, to fight its way up to self-government and equality in Confederation, nor is the process ended. No more than French Canada can the West accept a common interpretation of Canadian history or a cultural metropolitanism. The West must first work out its own historical experience (a task well begun by Professor A. S. Morton and Major G. F. Stanley), and free itself, and find itself. Until it ceases to be either an exploited or a subsidized region it cannot do so. In an imperfect world an unequal incidence of national policies is no doubt inevitable, but even in an imperfect world people may be allowed to shape an interpretation of history and a way of life in accord with their own experience.

If this view appears extreme, it is partly because Westerners seldom enjoy that blessed moderation which descends on those who have dwelt long among the flesh-pots, and partly because metropolitan Canada has seldom appreciated the impact of Laurentian imperialism on the West. One's appreciation of a club depends entirely upon the end from which one contemplates it. It was the fate of the West to become the colony of a

colony which brought to its new imperial role neither imagination, liberality, nor magnanimity. To ensure returns from the £300,000 spent in "buying" the West, the natural resources were retained, contrary to British precedent, the protective tariff, that chief of Canadian extractive industries, was established, and the monopoly clause of the Canadian Pacific Railway charter was imposed. In the events which preceded the rebellion of 1885, Ottawa added neglect to subordination, and after the rebellion was suppressed, neglect from time to time was not unknown.

And Eastern aggression has continued in other and sometimes subtler ways. For two generations the West has been led by the Ontario-born. What this has meant it would be idle to attempt to estimate, but it may be that native Westerners will not be so susceptible to the blandishments of metropolitan "nationalism." On the other hand, the Westerner, like the medieval Scot, is poor. Similar in effect is the fact that the West, like a colony, is used as a proving ground in which bright young men in business and the professions prepare themselves for higher positions in the head offices of the East. How familiar, and how touching, is the figure of the Ontario professor awaiting, in Ovidian exile, the call that will take him back to Toronto!

> Si quis adhuc istic meminit Nasonis adempti,
> et superest sine me nomen in urbe meum,
> suppositum stellis numquam tangentibus aequor
> me sciat in media vivere barbaria.[5]

Such dominance, however, higher civilizations, be it said without irony, always assert over lower.

Be that as it may, the subordination of the West, when added to its sharp sectionalism, gives it an incisive and cogent character of its own. This it is which makes it the third of the "decisive" areas of Canadian historical study. It has no acceptable alternative to working out its own identity in terms of its own historical experience. It must realize its latent nationalism, a nationalism neither racial like the French nor dominant—a "garrison" nationality—like that of Ontario, but environmental and, because of the diversity of its people, composite. It may, of course, fail (as the French might have been assimilated), and, by the joint process of exploitation and loss of its natural leaders to the East and the United States, be reduced to a subject people, without character or spirit.

Yet if it takes up the old Canadian struggle for survival and self-government, it may survive and, with French Canada, end the Laurentian domination. When all of the "decisive" and subordinate areas have achieved survival and self-government, and have raised themselves to equality in Confederation, when Confederation is held together no longer by the "Protestant garrison" and protectionist imperialism, but by the consent of equals, when it ceases to be an instrument of domination and exploitation and becomes a means to co-operation and distributive justice,

[5] *Tristia*, III, x, 1-4.

then there can be a common interpretation of Canadian history and a common text-book in the schools, French as well as English, West as well as East. Moreover, it must be a catholic, imaginative, and magnanimous interpretation. This is not only ideally desirable, it is practically necessary. The Canadian state cannot be devoted to absolute nationalism, the focus of a homogeneous popular will. The two nationalities and the four sections of Canada forbid it. The state in Canada must promote liberty of persons and communities, and justice, which is the essence of liberty. Canadians may well note Acton's words:

> No power can so efficiently resist the tendencies of centralization, of corruption, and of absolutism, as that community which is the vastest that can be included in a State, which imposes on its members a consistent similarity of character, interest, and opinion, and which arrests the action of the sovereign by the influence of a divided patriotism. The presence of different nations under the same sovereignty is similar in its effect to the independence of the Church in the State. It provides against servility, which flourishes under the shadow of a single authority, by balancing interests, multiplying associations, and giving to the subject the restraint and support of combined opinion. In the same way it promotes independence by forming definite groups of public opinion, and by affording a great source and centre of political sentiments, and of notions of duty not derived from the sovereign will. Liberty provokes diversity, and diversity preserves liberty by supplying the means of organization. . . . The co-existence of several nations under the same State is a test, as well as the best security of its freedom. It is also one of the chief instruments of civilization, and, as such, belongs to the natural and providential order, and indicates a state of greater advancement than the national unity which is the ideal of modern liberalism.[6]

That might almost have been composed as the ideal of Canadian national development; it is certainly the only practicable course for the future. Until it is accepted as such generally, by both nationalities and all sections, it is premature to suggest a common text-book in history or to propose to add cultural to economic metropolitanism.

[6]Lord Acton, *The History of Freedom and Other Essays* (London, 1907), 289-90.

FASCISM AND ROMANTICISM

F. E. Dessauer

SINCE the second half of the nineteenth century the German professor, as a type, has changed his character and social function. The division of labour has forced him to become a specialist. Increased consciousness of scientific methods has tended to make him cautious in his conclusions and has removed him from the political stage to the narrow walls of the lecture-room. But there have been exceptions, and the unusual scope of their activities has given them a strong influence.

During the last decades no German teacher of constitutional law has exercised such a potent spiritual influence beyond his proper sphere as Carl Schmitt. He was a young man at the time of the First World War. After 1919 he published a new book practically every year. Most of them were translated into French, Italian, and Spanish. They were not bulky, were brilliantly written and agreeably aggressive. They did away with the separating line between law and politics, brought law into the dramatic process of history, and had a special appeal for those to whom "pure" law appeared to be dry and dull. But behind the brilliance lay thought, wide erudition, and even method, in so far as method is compatible with a strong Hegelian trend. It was difficult to define the political tendency of the first books. For a long time Schmitt's opinions remained in the democratic line although their stress on the precedence of fact before law gave them a specific note. About 1930 Schmitt began to move towards fascism. With the revolution of 1933 the change of front was accomplished and the professor of Berlin University, the most widely read teacher of constitutional law, became a member of the Nazi party, an influential adviser of Goering's Prussian government, and a high dignitary of the Third Reich. The man who had dedicated his most important book to a Jewish friend introduced anti-Semitism into his scientific writings. There were rumours later on that the party and its great legal mind did not see eye to eye any more; certainly Schmitt was not the man to submit easily to a rigorous discipline.

Before all this started, Schmitt published, in 1919, a book entitled *Political Romanticism*. At that time he was still seeking his way; he strove after an understanding of some deeper currents of politics and he succeeded in defining some remarkable types and tendencies which neither were nor are limited to Germany. His results were the fruit of both research and introspection; what he described, and at that time strongly rejected, was a part of himself. The forces which he identified with romanticism were to control Germany afterwards. Their destructive power had been divined by Heine and Nietzsche before their full release; others showed the connecting lines between romanticism and National Socialism after the storm had broken out. All these prophecies and retrospects, however, either did not use objective methods of inquiry, or did not delve as deeply as Schmitt

did below the level of chance beliefs and remarks to that depth where the human substance of politics becomes manifest.

Schmitt's starting point is the uncertainty about the meaning of romanticism. In France, and not only there, it is identified with a belief in human goodness. This definition is better than those which look more at the consequences of a romantic attitude than at its basic conscious or unconscious beliefs; it is also more appropriate than those which reduce the far-flung European movement to the expression of a single nation, landscape, or social class. The definition, however, finds its bearings too exclusively in the field of morals; it misses the full breadth of romanticism as well as its specific historical place. Romantic art provides the key to a better understanding. The movement "did not succeed in creating a grand style." Its art is not representative. It "addresses itself to the sentimental intimacy of the isolated man." In a similar way religious, moral, political, and scientific facts are to the romantic primarily sensations. He treats them as he treats artistic themes and aesthetic problems, as food for talk, fuel for excitement, and inducement for self-expression. The world and its events are only the opportunity for, the *occasio* of, a free romantic activity. This concept excludes the submission to an objective causality and to a normative rule. It is a dissolving principle, unless, as with Malebranche, God is the ultimate, definite, and absolute source of all decisions. Romanticism, however, replaces God in this position by some other subjectively chosen instance, the State, the Nation, or the Individual, which are far from being definite and absolute sources of all decisions. The paramount importance of aesthetic tendencies reveals the individualistic foundations of romanticism. Man is his own priest, poet, and philosopher. This looks like an idyllic golden age, but only frightened people are prepared to throw themselves, without the guidance of rules, into the abyss of instinct and life. There is Byron; there is Baudelaire; there is Nietzsche.

Still more uncertainties confuse the problem of defining romanticism. The political associations of its representatives made it appear in France as a part of the three-headed monster *Réforme*, *Révolution*, *Romanticisme*, while in Germany Schlegel and Müller were the partisans of reaction and restoration. Romantic irrationalism is, for some, excessive individualism; for others it is the victory over the method of vague abstractions, a victory obtained by the acknowledgment of the great realities of tradition and history.

Schmitt disentangles the conflict by the use of Hegel's dialectic methods. According to him, romanticism is one of the four movements of opposition which attack the separation between thinking and reality, between subject and object, a separation which Descartes introduced and which Kant could not overcome. One opposition was philosophical: Fichte bridged the gap by his ego whose action creates the outside world; Schelling, of a less vehement temper, tries to close it by the concept of the organism which is spirit and nature at the same time; Hegel solves the riddle by the idea of

the process which is regulated by the play of contrasts. A second opposition is mystical: the contrast vanishes in unity with God. The third one, first represented by Vico, opposes the historical viewpoint to the abstract thinking of Descartes. The fourth, the romantic opposition, attempts an aesthetic or sentimental solution: the opposites remain both in reality and in thought, but their contrast is dissolved into a harmony of feeling or impression and becomes an enjoyable sensation. Refractory concepts develop into compatible sentiments.

While these oppositions were appearing, the highest reality of older metaphysics, God, was being replaced by newer demiurges, History or Humanity; the latter one also takes the form of Nation or Community or Society. In the struggle which followed the introduction of these new basic realities the romanticists avoided a clear decision defining how far the creative individual was identical with these powers or how far he controlled them.

In the human conflict between possibility and reality the romantic preference is for the unlimited possibility and against the narrowness of concrete realities. Hopes and promises, arising from plans and fragments, are placed over the classical maturity which is perfect within definite limits. Enthusiasm stands higher than conformity to rules, aphorisms higher than systems. Only the genius, rising out of the hat of the conjurer, can decide between the infinite and the finite. The other device for doing away with disturbing conflicts is to refer to the great universalities such as Nation or Society which are finite and infinite at the same time. Like children, the romantics flee from reality, making an escape into the future, the past, or the spatially remote. Delight in distant objects is not based on genuine interest in them: the objects are only trumps to be played against the oppressive reality of the world as it is. The various forms of paradise lost serve only to deny and to depreciate the present time. Reality is not more than a toy and a stimulus to the romantic who refuses the struggle to realize his ideas. Romantic irony too is an expression of the desire to keep open infinite possibilities and to avoid the limiting tie of decision. The same escape from reality lies in the use of the concept of totality: the frightening conflicts of real life vanish in the vague outlines of greater units which comprehend and subject the antagonistic details, at least in the free movement of thought. Reality disintegrates in an unchecked play with words, meanings, and possibilities. Looking for a total reality, the romantics find only its projections in this world; they miss the real things since they are afraid to come in contact with them.

The oppressive reality "remains in the shadow like an irrational force." Man is frightened and powerless, but for this very reason he thinks of, or fancies, the possible, but invisible strength of some free individual. He admires Prospero. Jesuits and freemasons and, we may now add, the wise men of Zion, are awe-inspiring creations of his power of imagination, and eventually objects of his belief. Causality, after being driven away, returns

by the backstairs; the irresponsible secret societies are believed to act rationally, to be similar to those powers which control the world according to the systems of Schelling, Hegel, and Marx. Another trend of romantic thought seizes upon the historical realities of Nation and Church, as established by Burke, Maistre, and Bonald: they can be felt and need not be rationally understood; they allow of inactivity since they are conceived of as too strong to be shaped or influenced by average men.

These great powers operate in their own ways. A causal relation between power and effect would limit the freedom of action and the wide scope of possibilities; it is the relation of chance (*occasio*) which appeals to the romantic preference for the phantastic, the subjective, and the unlimited. This is shown in politics as well as in art and poetry. The real world, at its best, may arouse enthusiasm. Conflicts are neither explained nor solved; playful thought absorbs them in some higher unity of vague sentiment. The idyll, being both ideal and real, offers an escape from personal decisions in the struggle of rival and limiting realities, forces, and values. In the field of morals mere sentiments are sufficient instead of acts of volition. Contrary to the mystic, the romantic does not deny reality, but external facts lead him to discussion only. Historical and political judgments are not real decisions, not starting points for action, but transpositions from sentiments. Romanticism can be used by any movement: it is faithful to none, but excited by each. The political history of romanticism gives evidence of its character, its "mixture of subjectivism and sensualism." This picture brings romanticism into strong contrast with the masters of the historical school, Burke, Bonald, Maistre, and Ranke, who held firm opinions, who played—or tried to play—an active part in politics, and who believed in an established hierarchy of normative values.

Schmitt does not draw the connecting and separating lines according to the expressed beliefs of his subjects; his grouping is based upon a deeper stratum of the mind from which the expressions are controlled. Schlegel and Müller, being enthusiastic, sentimental, literary, unreliable, doubtful with regard to the "law of nature," come closer to Baudelaire and Nietzsche than to Maistre and Bonald. This arrangement is doubtful. Burke, Bonald and Maistre, Gentz, Savigny, and Ranke are, both in their specific opinions and in their general attitude, not far away from the romantic flock. All of them reject deductive methods in their basic evaluations, founding their choice on a credo. Ranke who in style, method of work, and self-control shows nothing of what is usually termed romantic exuberance, felt the secret of the nation directly and did not discover it discursively; his "divining understanding" was older than the search for his material in the archives of Europe. Burke, evoking the "great mysterious incorporation of the human race," afraid of the mind of man which "is too active and restless a principle," basing his aesthetics not on the work of art itself but on the sensations it calls forth, had prepared for the invasion of sentiment. Maistre's playful use of the technique of conversation, his de-

light in ironical exaggeration, and his inclination to produce eccentric propositions have the substance of romanticism. Gentz's ability in adapting himself to changing political realities was not less than that of any of Schmitt's romantics. Savigny, who destroyed the generally binding "law of nature" and tried to destroy all law rationally made, was described by the naughty, but rather expert Heine as the "troubadour of the pandects." Thus the romantic and the historical schools are inseparable.

When Schmitt attempts to distinguish the two schools, he refers less to basic differences than to human varieties, to separated fields of activity and to different forms of expression. His marks of distinction are human qualities. Schmitt still writes a history of the spirit, but romanticism is more characterized by what its representatives are than by what they think. Nobody intends to be sentimental, inactive, or aesthetic; he is so. These romantics of Schmitt's are not men of a certain school, but of a certain type; and their type is a rather pathological one. Such historical writing is realistic in a very specific sense, since ideas and convictions withdraw when faced with the more obvious reality of the given facts of human nature. It is deterministic, since freedom of will and moral law have ceased to be factors of history. "So musst du sein, dir kannst du nicht entgehen" (You must be as you are, without escape).

The line of division which Schmitt drew between the great conservatives and the sentimental romantics had a political meaning which went far beyond the problems of historical understanding. In the German Empire the conservative groups had only a few literary heralds of reputation. The intellectual world and the leading journals were liberal. A conservative renaissance among the educated depended on a spiritual rehabilitation, and the romantic retinue, being sentimental, inactive, incapable of decision, and phantastic, was no recommendation for conservative beliefs in a Germany which was realistic or at least had the ambition to be so. The shining glory and the persuasive power of the great conservative prophets and historians were only increased by distinguishing them from the romanticism which smelled of what Americans would call Greenwich Village.

Schmitt's type of romantic man may be unfair to Novalis and Schlegel, but it emerges out of full life. We met these people before, at the universities, among writers, in society; we could tell you to what coffee-house they went and at what hour. Schmitt's types are part of the great political scene on which the curtain did not drop in 1919 and has not dropped in 1946. They have been found inside and outside Germany wherever men strive for an escape from the pressure of rational order. They have been more dangerous in Germany than elsewhere for certain historical reasons; this, however, is another story.

In the German politics of the last forty years Schmitt's romantics played a double role. They reduced the power of resistance which fascism met, and they shaped fascism itself to a strong extent. They were leaders in both camps because unheard of realities favoured the phantastic and be-

cause incomprehensible events made people believe in irrational forces; after things had happened which before had been deemed impossible, the impossible could be expected again or the whole concept might appear obsolete. Hitler drew this conclusion.

From the point of view of the German victims of the Fascist seizure of power, the consequence of romanticism, as analysed by Schmitt, is a strong indifference which, in its results, favours the strongest political force. These romantics, who do not recognize a system of established values, are not guided by definite moral rules, and as no legal rule is, in the long run, effective without moral support, so nothing is absolutely wrong either morally or legally or politically, so nothing should be fought against and abolished under any circumstances. No usurpation and no abuse of power is evil in itself; without a definite conception of what is evil there is no obligation to resist anything. In an irrational world, active interference easily appears senseless; "the wise go into the garden," as a modern German romantic wrote, taking up the old theme of Rousseau. The unwise, however, become desperate in such a world; the terrible end, in a common German phrase, seems better than terror without end. People who feel so accept dictators, revolutions, and wars as lesser evils. The romantic refusal of a decision, the leaving open of all possibilities, practically confirms the powers that be. When the solution of conflicts is transferred to the genius through whom the irrational forces of history are speaking, private responsibility for political results abdicates; when it is transferred to the people the same is true as long as this people is a mystical entity incapable of rational organization and guidance. The romantic preference for aesthetic sensations gives to a forest of flags, a great parade, or an opera by Wagner, greater political weight than the arguments of the responsible. If the intellectual middle class which, in church, school, and press, shapes the minds of the people, is under romantic influence, the playing with phantastic possibilities will replace the struggle with hard realities; the endless and exciting discussion will be preferred to the simple actual decision; and the vague feeling will be valued above precise discernment. Eager to be thrilled by an uninterrupted sequence of sensations, the romantic mind becomes a mirror instead of a substance and forms its opinions in a hurry, under the impact of quickly changing occasions, without that fund of character and rational experience which can only be slowly acquired. This same eagerness for sensations forces the government to supply them. If the supply is regular, the people can be prevented from seeing and thinking, activities which would destroy their somnambulistic assurance. It is for this reason that the week-end surprises which Hitler provided from 1935 to 1939 at regular intervals, once started, could not be stopped without serious risks.

Schmitt's picture of the romantic does not give the whole of political romanticism, or the whole of the German political mind, or something exclusively German; but when this type of romantic had become influential the

road to fascism was open, as a vacuum of political energy leads to an expansion of neighbouring forces.

The same basic convictions and attitudes which formed its victims formed fascism itself, since the belief in the rule of chance, which weakens the contemplative, strengthens the bold. There is the taste for aims which are distant in space and in time. There is the genius of the leader who finds all solutions in himself and whose creative phantasy outweighs all experience. There is the lack of a restrictive moral law which makes each action admissible and each successful action good. There is the lack of belief in causation which does away with the concept of the impossible and the restrictions it imposes on the freedom of action. There is the refusal to acknowledge the limiting alternatives of life, a refusal which makes children and romantics desire to become conquerors and saviours at the same time, to be powerful and modest, cultured and simple, great and good, and anxious to get something for nothing. There are the great hopes based on vague and vast possibilities; the political leaders arouse them as did the romantic poets who, in Heine's words, did not pay cash but asked for credit. There is the enormous urge to follow the changing suggestions of the hour, to shape existing conditions with that extreme liberty with which the poet, according to romantic theory, shapes his casual objects. There is, and no enemy of fascism could express it more precisely than this man who was to become the leading theorist of the fascist state, "the basic chaos which forms that great and particular attraction of the romantic work."

The romantic question is the question of the place of irrationalism in the actual world. It is much more than a German problem: Germany was only, on account of certain historical developments, the country where the problem became most acute. It is a problem which will not be solved by a radical either—or; the question is how to balance the irrational forces, not how to destroy them.

THE CONTINUITY OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

GODFREY DAVIES

CONTINUITY of British foreign policy has become a commonplace in political speeches and writings. On November 10, 1945, at a dinner at the White House to welcome Clement R. Attlee and W. L. Mackenzie King, President Truman is reported to have said: "One of the great things of the British Empire is that when they have a foreign policy—and they always have one—the British people are behind that foreign policy no matter which government is in power." Mr. Hugh Gibson in his book, *The Road to Foreign Policy* (p. 10), states that after the formation of a new British government, "other countries know what to expect—that as regards fundamentals there will be no change." Certainly, the recent change of foreign secretaries in London has not produced any very noticeable deviation from the established pattern. Mr. Ernest Bevin has stated his intention of following the lines already laid down. Yet the principle of continuity in foreign policy is of fairly recent origin and has not been invariably observed since its adoption in the eighteen-eighties. Before that decade foreign policy was often a partisan question that not infrequently determined election results; it became so again after the close of World War I. A historical survey, however brief, will illustrate this conclusion.

English political parties date from the reign of Charles II. The names "Whig" and "Tory" were bestowed during the fruitless effort to exclude James, Duke of York, from the throne—primarily a domestic issue. The Revolution of 1688 was to Englishmen a vindication of their constitutional rights, but few events have had greater influence on foreign policy. Professor Seeley remarked in his *Expansion of England* that from 1688 to 1815 "the great events are all of one sort, they are foreign wars." The historian then demonstrated that the seven wars he enumerated had a common factor—colonial rivalry with France and, usually, with Spain. But, in spite of this and other constant features in the second Hundred Years' War [1] which might seem to imply an unusual continuity in foreign policy, there were actually bitter partisan struggles at every stage and these led to many sudden reversals of policy.

The dividing line between parties in the reigns of William III and Anne was support of, or opposition to, continuation of the war. Although both parties favoured the declarations of war, the Tories were forced out of office in each reign when they resisted continued English participation on more than a limited scale. In each case there was a violent reaction when the Tories returned to power. After their triumph in 1710 they dismissed the ever victorious Marlborough and made a peace which reversed in important particulars the declared aims of the war.

[1] Defence of Belgium and maintenance of the balance of power were also usually, but not invariably, involved.

The downfall of Sir Robert Walpole's long administration was brought about by two wars—those of Jenkins' Ear and the Austrian Succession. Every schoolboy knows, as Macaulay used to say, how William Pitt denounced the alleged pro-Hanoverian policy of Walpole's successors with all the invectives at his command. The period of the Seven Years' War is often cited as a time of national unity, and the lines of Cowper are approvingly quoted:

> Praise enough
> To fill th' ambition of a private man,
> That Chatham's language was his mother tongue,
> And Wolfe's great name compatriot with his own.

Yet it is well to remember that relative unanimity lasted for four years only, from 1757 to 1761, and that the glorious Newcastle-Pitt administration was gradually dissolved by differences about foreign policy—war with Spain and terms of peace. The American Revolutionary War was fought to its conclusion during a bitter civil war of opinion in England. Even after North had been compelled to resign, the Whig party promptly split into the Fox and Shelburne factions over the negotiation of peace.

Party spirit was virulent during the long struggles against Revolutionary France and Napoleon. True, the "Old" Whigs under Portland joined Pitt's administration in 1794, but the "New" Whigs, both under Fox and after his death, denounced the war at every turn. They steadily opposed ministerial plans, derided Wellington's campaigns in the Peninsula, criticized the settlement at Vienna, and prophesied defeat in 1815. "Nothing could be more droll than the discomfiture of our politicians at Brooks's," wrote one of Creevey's correspondents. The Whig military experts were demonstrating why Napoleon must have reached Brussels when shouts were heard in the streets acclaiming the victory at Waterloo. The conclusion the writer reached was that, "to be sure, we are good people, but sorry prophets."[2] Few indeed were the occasions during the eighteenth century when it might be said:

> Then none was for a party;
> Then all were for the state.

Politicians proved by their conduct that they had no conception of the need for unified action in the realm of foreign affairs. So long as this basic requirement was absent there could not be any real continuity of policy over short periods. Surveying a long period some general trends can be traced, but they are due rather to immutable conditions, economic, geographical, etc., than to political leadership.

During the forty years between the battle of Waterloo and the Crimean War the two parties shared power equally. The Tories or Conservatives were in office from 1815 to 1830 and from 1841 to 1846, and the Whigs or Liberals during the rest of the time with the brief exceptions of 1834-35 and 1852. From 1815 to 1855 no ministry owed its downfall to a hostile vote in

[2] *The Creevey Papers*, ed. by Sir Herbert Maxwell (London, 1904), I, 240-1.

the House of Commons on its conduct of foreign affairs, and at no general election was foreign policy the main issue. Internal rather than external questions determined the fate of governments—perhaps a natural result of the long peace. However, it is doubtful whether there was any more general agreement as to foreign policy then than in the previous century. Because the great events were domestic—the removal of religious tests, parliamentary and municipal reform, the Poor Law, the Bank Charter, Free Trade—attention was diverted from the relations of Great Britain with the Continent. Thus Sir Spencer Walpole could begin Chapter XVI of his *History of England* with these sentences: "The internal history of a nation has frequently no direct connection with its foreign policy. Domestic politics are watched with anxiety by the people; the management of foreign affairs is usually delegated to their rulers or professed politicians."

But there were at least three principles, one comparatively recently adopted and the other two new, on which differences of opinion developed. The first dates from Pitt's unsuccessful attempt to bar Russia from the Black Sea—the Oczakov incident. Palmerston made the defence of Turkey and the closing of the Dardanelles to all warships a feature of his policy during the eighteen-thirties, and incurred much criticism from radicals like Joseph Hume. Indeed Liberals who advocated "peace, retrenchment, and reform" were exasperated by a policy which by 1840 had introduced the pregnant phrase "armed peace" into the vocabulary of politicians.[3] Castlereagh's policy of non-intervention, acceptable to Tories and conservatives, was severely handled in 1821 when it failed to stop Austrian intervention to suppress revolution in Naples.[4] The plain fact is that this principle was difficult to reconcile with another principle which became dear to the hearts of Palmerston and Russell and their supporters—that liberalism and nationality should be encouraged on the Continent. Indeed, the conflict between these principles explains much of the inconsistency which marks foreign policy until the eighteen-eighties. A simple example is furnished by the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819, which made it illegal for Englishmen to serve in the armed forces of a foreign king or of his revolted colony without royal licence. Passed by the Tories to prevent British subjects from aiding the Spanish colonies in South America in their war of independence, it was stoutly opposed by Whigs like Sir James Mackintosh. Moreover, Palmerston first winked at its evasion, and then nullified it in 1835 to permit De Lacey Evans to enroll his legion for service in Spain on behalf of Queen Isabella and against the Carlists.[5] A more complex specimen is provided by the same foreign secretary's exultation over the Quadruple Alliance between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal in 1834. At the time he claimed that it was of permanent and extensive

[3]Elie Halévy, *A History of the English People* (London, 1924-34), III, 273.

[4]C. K. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1815-1822* (London, 1925), 325-6, 335-6. Cf. Spencer Walpole, *A History of England*, III (London, 1880), 29-30.

[5]Walpole, *A History of England*, IV (London, 1886), 303.

importance because "it establishes a quadruple alliance among the constitutional states of the west, which will serve as a powerful counterpoise to the Holy Alliance of the east."[6] Here, clearly, was a triumph for liberalism. Yet in 1840, in order to confine Mehemet Ali to the hereditary pashalics of Egypt and southern Syria and to place the Dardanelles under international guardianship, Palmerston signed the convention of July 15, 1840, with Austria, Prussia, and Russia, and left France out in the cold. The need for "a powerful counterpoise to the Holy Alliance" was ignored when the question arose of preserving Turkey and preventing the two land routes to India from passing under the control of Egypt, a country under French influence.

How to reconcile sympathy for nations struggling to be free from alien rule with non-intervention was a problem that became most acute during and after the Revolution of 1848, although it had arisen in connection with Grecian and Belgian independence.

During the great period of nationalism which began in 1848, Englishmen paid unusual attention to the Continent. Cobden bitterly complained in the eighteen-sixties: "Nothing except foreign politics seems to occupy the attention of the people, Press, or Parliament,"[7] a remark he might have made at almost any time in the previous decade. For nearly twenty years the influence of Palmerston or of Russell or of both together was paramount. Both favoured extending at least moral support to continental nationalism and liberalism, the one being more interested in the former and the other in the latter. The consistent opposition to their policy came from Liberals like Cobden and Bright who were pronounced isolationists. "I am against any interference by the Government of one country in the affairs of another nation, even if it be confined to moral suasion," wrote Cobden in 1858.[8] The Conservatives were less extreme in their attitude, though they often shared the misgivings Palmerston or Russell inspired in the adherents of the Manchester School of politics. They eyed askance the introduction of sentimental principles into foreign policy. Ministers, Disraeli complained in 1848, kept trying to force the English constitution upon every country, regardless of the interests either of England or the foreign nation concerned. The same speaker deprecated support of what he called "this modern, new-fangled, sentimental principle of nationality." But he and the party he was to lead did not desire "a pedantic adherence to that passive policy, which, in the barbarous dialect of the day, is called 'non-intervention.' "[9] The Conservatives, like Castlereagh, were opposed to interference in the domestic politics of foreign nations, but willing to uphold essential interests like the balance of power. There they parted company with radicals like

[6]Herbert C. F. Bell, *Lord Palmerston* (London, 1936), I, 148.

[7]W. H. Dawson, *Richard Cobden and Foreign Policy* (London, 1926), 104.

[8]*Ibid.*, 108.

[9]W. F. Monypenny and G. E. Buckle, *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, III (London, 1914), 182-3, 187.

John Bright who compared the balance of power to "perpetual motion, or any of those impossible things which some men are always racking their brains and spending their time and money to accomplish."[10] The Peelites—Aberdeen, Gladstone, Graham, and others—were generally a little less interventionist than the Conservatives, though more so than the Radicals, even if they did help the coalition ministry of 1854 to "drift" into the Crimean War.

A combination of these three groups could exercise a restraining hand upon the adventurous Palmerston but their influence was negative rather than positive. On the constructive side the Conservatives had not much to offer. They usually favoured a good understanding with France, both under Louis Philippe and Napoleon III. As to Austria, both the main parties wished to keep her strong as a sheet-anchor for the balance of power, but whereas the Liberals thought she would be the stronger if alien branches were lopped off, the Conservatives viewed with alarm and repugnance the ministerial sympathy for Italian nationalists. Austria, Disraeli is reported to have said early in 1860, was "the centre and nucleus of all Conservative efforts in the field of European politics."[11]

On five occasions between 1850 and 1860 the fate of ministries was directly or indirectly changed by votes of the Commons on foreign policy. At the end of 1851 Palmerston was dismissed from the Foreign Office because he had expressed to the French Ambassador his approval of Napoleon's coup d'état. To allay the panic caused by the expectation that Napoleon would strive to emulate his great uncle, Russell determined to reconstitute the militia. Palmerston seized the opportunity for his "tit for tat with Johnny Russell" and the ministry fell. At the beginning of 1855, Roebuck's motion for an inquiry into conditions in the Crimea and the conduct of ministers responsible for them was carried by a large majority. Palmerston formed an administration which lasted until 1857 when a hostile vote condemned the violent measures adopted at Canton in the affair of the *Arrow*, the crew of which had been seized by the Chinese authorities because two of them were suspected of piracy. The parliamentary majority was a curious group, the Radicals and Conservatives being joined by Gladstone and Lord John Russell. Palmerston won the general election which ensued, but was then defeated on a Conspiracy-to-Murder Bill, introduced to strengthen the law because a conspiracy to assassinate Napoleon III had been hatched on English soil. The real charge against the Government was its failure to reply to an offensive dispatch from France. When Lord Derby appealed to the country in 1859, the alleged pro-Austrian policy of his government told against him, and

[10]Speech on "Principles of Foreign Policy," Oct. 29, 1858.

[11]Monypenny and Buckle, *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, IV (London, 1916), 320.

this was also the case in the hostile division in the Commons which caused him to resign.[12]

During the eighteen-fifties there were no less than six different cabinets and five foreign secretaries. These constant changes, largely produced by differences over foreign policy, prove the lack of agreement between parties. Also, there were internal cleavages which caused abstentions from critical divisions or cross-voting. Members of Parliament seemed confused about the issues at stake. A remarkable example is afforded by the speech in which the Marquis of Hartington proposed the vote of censure on Derby's second administration: "I would rather see in office the successors and inheritors of that policy of peace and non-interference which was advocated by Fox and Grey, than the inheritors of that warlike, interfering, and subsidizing policy which characterized the administrations of Castlereagh and Pitt." This was said in support of a motion which was to replace the non-interventionists, Derby and Malmesbury, by the two great apostles of intervention, Palmerston and Russell. And yet, we are told, the speech was applauded on all sides.[13]

Lord Palmerston, in June, 1859, formed a ministry which, surviving the general election of 1865, lasted until his death on October 18 of that year. Lord John Russell, created Earl Russell in 1861, was Foreign Secretary and W. E. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer. This cabinet lasted longer and its membership remained more constant than any of its predecessors since 1827. The opposition the "two old gentlemen," Palmerston and Russell, encountered to their conduct of foreign relations came from their colleagues rather than from their opponents. The non-interventionists in the Cabinet were constantly busy trying to restrain the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary from interfering in affairs abroad in which Britain had at most a sentimental interest and to maintain a strict neutrality. Often momentarily successful, they failed in the long run. Ministers' correspondence, subsequently printed, reveals that serious dissensions often occurred and that the "two old gentlemen" were not infrequently outvoted but yet contrived to have their way. Lord Granville remarked after the Government had been in office for a few weeks only that three of Russell's proposals about Italy had already been rejected, but "it is difficult without a quarrel to insure that these decisions of the Cabinet are faithfully carried out."[14] But although on occasion he could rejoice

[12]For the view of the Earl of Malmesbury, the Conservative Foreign Secretary, that if the blue book containing his dispatches on the Austro-Italian question had been circulated to Members before the division, it would have gone the other way, see Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister* (London, 1884), II, 188-91. But cf. Monypenny and Buckle, *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, IV, 252-3.

[13]Bernard Holland, *Life of Spencer Compton, Eighth Duke of Devonshire* (London, 1911), I, 31-6.

[14]Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, *The Life of Granville George Leveson Gower, Second Earl Granville* (London, 1905), I, 351. This biography is the chief authority on the Cabinet dissensions.

that Johnny(Russell) had had a lesson and that the majority of the Cabinet would prevent him and Pam (Palmerston) from ignoring their colleagues,[15] Pam and Johnny usually prevailed. One reason was Lord Palmerston's personal hold on the electorate which loved his John Bullism, provided it did not prove too expensive or lead to war. Another was that not a few of the Opposition regarded the Prime Minister as a sounder Conservative in domestic affairs than their own leader, Disraeli, and were averse to any attempt to defeat him. In 1860 Palmerston was assured that he could rely on Conservative support in case the Liberals pressed for a new bill to lower the franchise, and in 1861 similar tenders of support were offered in the event of Gladstone's insistence on a democratic budget splitting the Cabinet.[16]

In these circumstances the policy of verbal intervention could not be successfully resisted. It achieved one resounding success in the union of Italy, and one shameful defeat in the Schleswig-Holstein imbroglio. A policy which had lured Denmark on "by delusive counsels and fallacious hopes" and then left her to face the German Confederation alone[17] was hotly assailed by the Conservatives. They boldly attacked the whole record of the Government and condemned a "policy of meddle and muddle" which, Derby asserted, had left England without a friend in Europe—he might have added, "or America." In the Lords the Government was defeated by nine votes, but was rescued in the Commons by a majority of eighteen which approved abstinence from armed intervention on behalf of Denmark. But, though the administration was saved, that form of intervention by brag, which Palmerston had practised so long, was jettisoned.

For a decade the principles of the Manchester School of politicians prevailed no matter which party was in power. There was more continuity in foreign policy between 1864 and 1876, when the Eastern Question came once again to the fore, than previously since the death of Canning. British foreign secretaries did their best to ignore the Continent and, when obliged to notice it, to do as little as possible. They stood aloof during the negotiations following the Seven Weeks' War and let Prussia absorb Hanover and head the North German Confederation without a murmur, even though the balance of power was being imperilled. Treaty obligations, however, prevented a blind eye from being focused on Luxembourg, guaranteed to Holland in 1839. Napoleon III wanted to purchase Luxembourg as partial compensation for the great expansion of Prussia, and war between France and Prussia seemed imminent. Stanley, the Conservative Foreign Secretary from 1866 to 1868, suggested that the powers which had signed the treaty of 1839 should meet. The conference agreed that Luxembourg should be placed under the collective guarantee of the Great Powers. But he was careful to point out that no one power was "liable to be called upon to act

[15]E.g., *ibid.*, I, 357-8.
[16]Monypenny and Buckle, *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, IV, 273, 293.
[17]*Ibid.*, 345-7.

singly or separately. It is a case, so to speak, of 'limited liability.' "[18] His view prevailed, and the violation of Luxembourg's neutrality by Germany in 1914 was not made a *casus belli* by any of the signatories of the treaty of 1867. In 1870 Gladstone's government (1868-74) did exact from both Germany and France a pledge to respect Belgian neutrality, but not even the Prime Minister's great influence could induce the Cabinet to protest against the transfer of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany without the consent of their inhabitants. On the question of the Alabama claims, the Conservatives backed up the Government both in accepting the principle of arbitration and in denouncing the indirect claims—that the United States should be compensated for the alleged responsibility of Great Britain for the prolongation of the Civil War.

Continuity of foreign policy might have been expected to continue after the Conservatives returned to power in 1874. But Disraeli's brooding genius had perceived that the country would soon grow impatient of a mute, inglorious policy. "The very phrase 'foreign affairs,' " he said at Manchester, "makes an Englishman convinced that I am about to treat of subjects with which he has no concern. Unhappily the relations of England with the rest of the world, which are 'foreign affairs,' are the matters which most influence his lot."[19] He soon made Englishmen concerned about foreign affairs. Fearing above all things that the safety of India would be endangered if Russia, or even Russian influence, reached the Mediterranean, he upheld the integrity of Turkey as a vital British interest. His great adversary, Gladstone, inflamed the country by his denunciations of the savagery with which Turkish irregulars put down nationalist risings in the Balkans. Perhaps no international question roused passions to an equal height in the nineteenth century. The forward policy the Conservatives followed in Afghanistan and South Africa was equally abhorrent to earnest Liberals.

At the general election of 1880 the main issue was the Conservative record in foreign affairs. Gladstone avowedly intended to reverse it, and the electors by their support gave him the opportunity. The quest of a "scientific frontier" for north-west India was abandoned, and British forces were withdrawn from Afghanistan. The annexation of the Transvaal was cancelled, though not promptly enough to avert the humiliation of Majuba Hill. Turkey was coerced into ceding Thessaly to Greece, though not before the Concert of Europe, to which the Liberals had pinned their faith, had gone to the devil, as Granville, their Foreign Secretary, confessed. Then came the single-handed occupation of Egypt and the hesitations and procrastinations which prevented the column sent to relieve Gordon at Khartoum from arriving in time. Strange delays occurred at every stage of negotiations with Germany over colonial acquisitions, with the result that Bismarck was infuriated and not appeased by eleventh-hour concessions.

[18]Spencer Walpole, *History of Twenty-five Years* (London, 1904), II, 461-5.
[19]Monypenny and Buckle, *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, V (London, 1920), 191.

Opposition to every branch of the Government's foreign policy was bitter and prolonged. Even the vote of credit to make preparations in case war resulted from the "Penjdeh incident"—when a Russian force annihilated Afghans on the borders of their land and the Turcoman territory recently annexed by the Tsar—was made the subject of a vote of censure.

Gladstone was defeated in the Commons in June, 1885, and succeeded by Salisbury's government of caretakers. The general election at the end of the year was mainly decided on domestic, not foreign issues; it gave the Liberals a large majority over the Conservatives, but left them in a small minority against a possible combination of Conservatives and Irish Nationalists. Excitement over the first Home Rule Bill and its dramatic defeat in the House of Commons (June, 1886), and the fiercely contested general election that followed, diverted attention from a most important development in the conduct of international relations. After Salisbury's defeat in January, 1886, and before the Queen sent for Gladstone as his successor, she announced to the retiring Prime Minister her intention of objecting to the reappointment of Granville as Foreign Secretary, and received the reply that she would be "perfectly justified." The Liberal leader, acknowledging that Salisbury's foreign policy had been good, found the case against Granville "most painful" even though all the friends he had consulted urged that Granville's return to the Foreign Office was impossible.[20] The Queen suggested Lord Rosebery, and he accepted the post. But Her Majesty was not content to secure the minister she desired; she also wanted a pledge that the Conservative policy with regard to the Balkans should be continued.[21] To that end, Salisbury had interviews with Gladstone and with Rosebery and reported that the latter "expressed several times his intention of maintaining the continuity of English policy in foreign affairs."[22]

The principle that the foreign relations of the country should not provide fields for party battles prevailed until after World War I. Comparatively recent and opposed to previous practice, it owed its survival to many factors. One, of immediate influence, was the abandonment by the Conservatives of the Palmerstonian-Disraelian policy of upholding the integrity of Turkey, and their adoption of the rule, the Balkans for the Balkan people. As early as 1887, Gladstone, then in opposition, noted the unanimity of the nation on the Balkan question.[23] Another factor, most important, was that, during

[20] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, Third Series, I, (London, 1930), 25, 35; Fitzmaurice, *Life of Granville*, II, 481-3.

[21] Specifically, that the six Great Powers should prevent Greece from attacking Turkey, if need be by a naval demonstration. It is perhaps significant that, on hearing of the change of government in England, Germany stopped the warship she was despatching to the joint squadron and waited to be assured there would be no change in British policy.

[22] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, I, 50. This is the first use of the phrase I have noticed. Salisbury wrote "continuity of policy" in 1885 (Lady Gwendolen Cecil, *Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury*, III (London, 1931), 224).

[23] *The Queen and Mr. Gladstone*, ed. by Philip Guedalla (London, 1934), 722.

most of the time, England had a restricted choice of policy. Bickerings with France over colonial expansion in Africa and Asia until 1904, and the German menace from that year until 1918, narrowly circumscribed the limits open to a foreign secretary. From the beginning of the present century friendship with the United States has been a rule which no English minister could break without committing political suicide. For twenty years the Japanese alliance was generally regarded as essential to the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Far East. There were no more than six foreign secretaries from 1886 to 1916, two of whom, the Earl of Iddesleigh and the Earl of Kimberley, held office only for six and fifteen months respectively. That both Lord Salisbury and Sir Edward Grey held the seals of the Foreign Office for more than ten years apiece would by itself have given stability to foreign policy.

Both Rosebery and Grey deserve credit for their loyalty to the principle the former was instrumental in establishing. Both belonged to the imperialist wing of the Liberal party and so were closer to the Conservatives than to the Little Englanders on external questions. Both pursued a policy that was unpopular with a large section, perhaps a majority, of their party, which was isolationist. It is improbable that a majority of Liberals approved of Rosebery's proclaiming a protectorate over Uganda (1894): he had difficulty with his colleagues and for the first time in his long experience, said Gladstone, a prime minister and foreign secretary appeared before the cabinet with opposing views.[24] Similarly, Grey's steady adherence to the *Entente cordiale* and, especially, the agreement with Russia in 1907 strained his party's loyalty almost to the breaking point.[25]

A further consideration is the peculiar character of the British electorate. It tends to become absorbed in a few questions to the neglect of others. From 1886 to 1914 Home Rule for Ireland was a burning issue, with some placid intermissions. At the turn of the century the Boer War monopolized attention.[26] Then came Tariff Reform *versus* Free Trade, Lloyd George's social legislation, and the controversy over the powers of the House of Lords. The elector paid little attention to foreign affairs and, for the most part, remained profoundly ignorant of them. An attempt to make party capital out of foreign policy would not have been likely to excite enough interest to justify the effort. A complex question like the balance of power —the real issue at stake from 1904 to 1914—was far inferior in appeal to a simple question like the defence of Belgium.

After World War I the rule that British foreign policy should be exempt

[24]Gladstone's memory failed him. He and his Foreign Secretary, Granville, clashed over his desire to protest against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. "I remained in possession of the field and the Cabinet," wrote Granville, "and so nothing was done" (Fitzmaurice, *Life of Granville*, II, 62).

[25]Viscount Grey, *Twenty-five Years* (New York, 1937), I, 149, 163-4.

[26]There were, of course, grave differences of opinion in the Liberal party about the Boer War, but as it was officially regarded as a colonial and not a foreign issue, it is ignored here.

from partisan change and conflict was more honoured in the breach than the observance. A facile explanation might be that the Labour party, which was the official opposition during most of the period from 1919 to 1939, and which furnished a minority government in 1924 and from 1929 to 1931, was inexperienced and ill-informed about the rule. Maybe the rank and file were ignorant of, or even hostile to, precedents which had failed to prevent Armageddon. The decisions of Labour, taken before the war ended, not to observe the party truce at by-elections, and, after the armistice, to withdraw its members from the Coalition government, did not help to create an atmosphere conducive to an agreed foreign policy.

It would be unjust, however, to blame any one party for not following the practice of pre-war days. Ramsay MacDonald, immediately after his defeat at the election of 1924, wrote an article for the *Spectator* (December 6) entitled "Continuity in Foreign Policy," in which he claimed that it depended on "the wisdom of the evolutionary as opposed to the revolutionary method, and the amount of common agreement that exists in what should be the general objective of our foreign policy." He also pointed out that when two groups exist which regard national well-being from different angles, they will not use the same roads even when their goal is the same: when their purposes differ, they will follow "irreconcilable policies, absolute alternatives."

Undoubtedly, during the years from 1919 to 1939 there were grave divergencies of opinion between Conservative, Labour, and Liberal, and even when there was agreement on principles, methods of enforcement varied. One cause of the conflicts that soon developed was that no one seemed capable of making the necessary adjustment between the pre-war and post-war national interests or of deciding which traditional policies should be retained and which discarded. The defence of Belgium was still judged vital, but another time-honoured principle, that the British Navy should be superior to any other, disappeared when first equality and then superiority was ceded to the United States. What happened to another factor dating from the sixteenth century, the balance of power, is a moot point. Some Englishmen were convinced that the League of Nations had cast it into the limbo of obsolete doctrines, but others felt the need for it in view of French ascendancy during the early twenties and German aggression in the late thirties. Non-intervention appealed to all as a principle, but its application, or breach, during the Russian Revolution and the Spanish Civil War caused endless controversy. In fact, one of the two basic requirements for continuity of foreign policy—general agreement about it—was conspicuous by its absence. The other, refusal to make party capital out of international affairs, was equally discarded. Dislike of Lloyd George's incursions into foreign affairs was a potent cause of the disruption of the Coalition in 1922. At the general election of 1924, the issue was almost exclusively the Russian treaty and the Zinoviev letter. In 1929 Conservative subservience to France, especially in the vexed question of reparations,

was denounced on Labour platforms. In 1935 the National government claimed in its election manifesto that the League of Nations would remain as heretofore the keystone of British foreign policy.

Judging from speeches, all parties seem to have been staunch upholders of the League. Until more data are available—state papers, politicians' biographies, letters, memoirs, and monographs—the precise attitude of parties to the League cannot be ascertained. There are nuances that defy exact analysis. Ramsay MacDonald in his article in the *Spectator* wrote: "We must without reserve champion the League of Nations, not as an alliance which, should a war break out, would secure victory to one side, but as a combination of nations to create the machinery and the obligations necessary to maintain peace. These two views are contending for mastery at the present moment." A decade later, when the White Paper of March, 1936, announced larger appropriations for Army, Navy, and Air Force, Mr. Attlee, the leader of Labour in the Commons, denounced them because they aimed at national, not collective security. Much the same argument appeared in another form—that the Cabinet, when demonstrating the need for additional armaments by a comparison between British and continental forces, counted on the credit side of the ledger only British figures and neglected to include those of other members of the League. In the spring of 1939, the opposition to the very modest conscription bill was based on an entirely different ground—that the necessary recruits could be obtained from volunteers.

To reconcile the persistent Labour criticisms that Conservative foreign policy was feeble and vacillating, with equally regular votes against increased appropriations for the armed forces is a hard task. There are several possible explanations of the paradox. Among the supporters of Labour were many pacifists. Annually, a score of M.P.'s voted against spending any money on armaments. At the annual Labour conference of September, 1935, the majority of delegates recommended the application of sanctions against Italy. Thereupon, the leaders in both Houses of Parliament, Lord Ponsonby and George Lansbury, resigned. Also, Labour held that general disarmament would produce security or was essential to it, that, if Britain began to rearm, she would deal a fatal blow to collective security, and that any increase of armaments implied a distrust of the League.

As for the Conservatives, Mr. Attlee complained of the "dualism" they exhibited by simultaneously supporting the League of Nations in applying sanctions and in negotiating with Italy to end the Abyssinian war. But there seems to have been a dualism in much of the policy of Conservatives so far as it concerned the League. They approved Labour's rejection of the Treaty for Mutual Assistance, and themselves declined to ratify the Protocol of Geneva. Their most spectacular coup was the Locarno treaty, a pact of mutual guarantee between five nations. Much eloquence was devoted to proving that Locarno in no way slighted Geneva, but there is no gainsaying the fact that the former would have been unnecessary if the

latter had enjoyed complete confidence. After their unhappy experiences during the Italian-Abyssinian war, the Conservative leaders bluntly stated that the League's weapons would not shoot. Events of 1939 suggest that they were right, but this does not necessarily exonerate them from some of the responsibility for the League's impotence.

Looking back over the period between the wars—changes in foreign policy seem to have occurred whenever governments changed, and acute differences seem to have existed practically all the time. Apparently the differences might have been even more embittered in the nineteen-twenties. Philip Snowden in his *Autobiography* vehemently argued that the Labour leaders in the Commons lost a great opportunity in July, 1919, when the Treaty of Versailles was submitted for ratification. The party, according to this authority, expected that the "treaty of blood and iron which betrayed every principle for which our soldiers thought they were fighting, and which violated the publicly declared objects of the British Labour and Socialist movement," would be denounced in Parliament, but the Labour speakers there let the case against the Treaty go by default.[27] In spite of this fiasco, Labour did press later for more lenient terms for Germany and bitterly denounced Conservative supineness during the occupation of the Ruhr. They heartily approved the "Balfour note,"[28] but contended that, if reparations were exacted, Great Britain should have her fair share and not yield to France's excessive claims.

Lack of continuity can also be shown in specific instances. The Conservatives, succeeding to office after the collapse of the Coalition in 1922, decided to enlarge and fortify the naval base at Singapore. The Labour Cabinet in 1924 abandoned the plan because "it was a menace to the peace and safety of the Empire."[29] The next year the Conservatives went ahead with it, but Labour, in 1930, after an Imperial Conference, decided to slow down the work and to reconsider the whole scheme in five years' time.

The whole question of relations with Russia bristles with inconsistencies. A trade agreement was concluded in March, 1921, by the Coalition, but the negotiations at Genoa between the western powers and Russia broke down when the former insisted that, in order to obtain credits, the Soviet recognize debts incurred by the Tsarist regime and guarantee indemnity or possession to the previous non-Russian factory owners. In office, in 1924, Labour unconditionally recognized the Soviet government and promised to guarantee a loan as soon as half the English bondholders professed their satisfaction with the lump sum to be offered by Russia. The agreement was strongly denounced by the Conservatives and Liberals as a "fake," and defended by Labour as a sovereign cure for unemployment. At the general

[27]Philip Snowden, *An Autobiography* (London, 1934), II, 526-9.

[28]*Ibid.*, 779. But cf. 749.

[29]Ramsay MacDonald, "Continuity in Foreign Policy" (*Spectator*, 133, Dec. 6, 1925, 872).

election toward the end of 1924 the menace of bolshevism was the trump card of the opponents of the pact. Winning the election the Conservatives promptly announced that they would not ratify the treaty, and broke off all relations after the raid on Arcos, the headquarters in London of the trade delegation from Russia. Back in office in 1929, Labour resumed diplomatic relations with Russia, but did not offer a loan. The National government, after snubbing the Soviet government at Munich, tried in vain to arrange a military alliance in the summer of 1939. In 1941 a twenty years' alliance with Russia was signed.

A casuist may be able to argue the thesis that the more British foreign policy changes the more it remains the same — and the longer the period he surveys the truer his thesis appears. A student of history, however, is likely to conclude that the constant factors are few and the variables many. The former are due to permanent conditions such as proximity to the continent of Europe or desire to retain American friendship; the latter nearly always occur when policy is not obviously prescribed by geography or geophysics. In fact, continuity might be likened to predestination, variation to free will.

ATOMIC ENERGY AND WORLD-ORDER

FRANK ALLEN

CLASSICAL ATOMISM

IN the fifth century before our era the atomic age was founded in Greece by Leucippus of Abdera and his renowned pupil Democritus. It reached its tragic and sensational climax on August 6, 1945, when the atomic bomb of questionable fame obliterated in a moment the Japanese city of Hiroshima with its doomed inhabitants. The beginning of the theory was publicly unnoticed; its appalling culmination in action has alarmed the world.

During the period of nearly twenty-four centuries elapsing between the two events, the atomic theory of matter has triumphantly encountered stranger vicissitudes of fortune than any other hypothesis of science. It has been brilliantly expounded, strongly attacked, fantastically adorned, stricken to apparent death, resuscitated into vigorous life, dignified with sober mathematical attire, endowed with prophetic power, and made the basis of an immense domain of natural phenomena. It has unleashed the most concentrated and destructive energy known to man, and finally has given its name to a new era of the world.

For inherent in the idea of the atom from the beginning was the indestructible element of truth. To it have therefore slowly but inevitably been traced the elucidation of the structure and behaviour of matter, electricity, and magnetism; the origin of light, and of gravitational, electric, and magnetic forces; the genesis of radioactive changes and of the innumerable reactions upon which the operations of nature, of living organisms, and the chemical industries, which are the basis of modern industrial life, depend. From the atom have sprung the broadcasting and universal reception of voice and music which for the first time have brought all nations into living communion with one another.

Two theories of the nature of matter are conceivable, discontinuity of structure and continuity, the former of which was the earlier to be proposed. The atoms of Democritus were imagined to be exceedingly small, indivisible particles of permanent size and inviolable shape. Some had smooth rounded surfaces and therefore could move easily about, like those of water and oil. The rough atoms of salt, interspersed among the smooth atoms of water, rasped the bitter salt taste of sea-water upon the tongue. Acids like vinegar tasted sharp because their atoms had prickly points. The atoms of solids had uneven surfaces with branches that intertwined to hold them firmly together. The quiescent metal was in reality a restless mass of such interlocked atoms which gave the external appearance of rest because they were too small to be seen. To the touch a metal appeared hard since the writhing atoms in matted form resisted pressure. Dispersed atoms constituted thin

air and swept through the pores of bodies. Atoms in huge streamers or tongues formed smoke and clouds. No origin of motion was suggested, but it was tacitly assumed that all atoms were naturally in tumultuous movement.

Into the Democritean atomic theory were gathered some of the chief ideas of nature held by the ancient philosophers. Since the restless and immutable atoms rushed, collided, wandered, and combined to produce the incessant phenomena of change, there must be space for the execution of their movements. This was provided by a void or vacuum in which their motions were unhindered. As atoms were too small to be seen, so the empty space at their disposal was likewise unobservable. To later philosophers the existence of a void was repugnant, and this opposition was later crystallized in the principle of Aristotle that no void was possible since nature abhors a vacuum, a doctrine that persisted for about nineteen centuries, until the experiments of Toricelli (1640) on the weight of the air and the production of a vacuum banished it from physics.

Democritus was a follower of the Pythagorean school. It is not surprising, therefore, that the peculiar idea of Pythagoras of numbers being mystical constituents of things, was implicit in atomism. While differing widely from that early philosophical concept, number in modern theory is intrinsically associated with atoms in the precise form of atomic weights and numbers, which have a profound physical significance in relation to atomic structure.

The doctrine of elements had for the first time been announced by Thales a century and a half before Democritus. The single primary element of matter was declared by him to be water. While the idea of elements persisted, the primary substance chosen varied from one philosopher to another. In the opinion of Anaximenes it was air, and in that of Heraclitus it was fire. In a more generous spirit these three, together with a fourth terrestrial substance, earth, to which Aristotle at a later date added a more refined celestial element or fifth essence, were all admitted to the hierarchy of elements. At times the elements themselves were thrust into the background and certain properties, cold, hot, moist, and dry, occupied their places. The Democritean atoms, though widely diversified in shape, were held to be immutable parts of a single element. By their different sizes, forms, and grouping all visible things were constituted. When this idea was criticized, Democritus retorted that the same letters of the alphabet which made a tragedy could by rearrangement compose a comedy!

About sixty years after Democritus had set forth his view of atomism, Plato in the *Timaeus* expounded an alternative system of geometrical atomism. The existence of only five regular solids so strongly impressed the great philosopher, that he believed them to be connected with other manifestations of nature. The four elements of matter appeared singularly adapted to this purpose; and accordingly the atoms or particles of air were

assumed to be octahedra, those of earth cubes, those of fire tetrahedra, and of water icosihedra. The fifth solid, the dodecahedron, having then no corresponding element, was conveniently assigned to the plan of the universe itself.

A third system of atomism was propounded by Epicurus about 300 B.C., and later elaborated by the Roman poet Lucretius about 75 B.C., in which weight was added to the properties of atoms. In this system there was presented a graphic picture of an atomically contrived universe in which immutable atoms and the eternal void were provided for the changes in nature and the vicissitudes of life. Thus permanence was combined with incessant transformation. The ideas of the "fortuitous concourse of atoms" in the origin of the world, and of the atomic basis of the freedom of the will, as well as innumerable other applications of Epicurean atomism, are foreign to the present purpose and need no further mention.

The idea of atomism, and especially the necessary provision of a void, was rejected by Aristotle who advocated the principle of the continuity of matter in which a void had no place. Hence began the long contest between the two concepts of continuity and discontinuity, with the former prevailing until the revival of the atomic theory in the seventeenth century. While both ideas are philosophically tenable, the decision between them must be made by exact science. Strangely enough both ideas are incorporated in the modern concept of the atom. For while discrete atoms certainly exist, their electronic constituents are now seemingly proved to have a wave structure, and therefore they must be continuous with the medium of which they are essentially a part.

The beginnings of atomic theory therefore took three forms: Democritean, geometrical, and Epicurean atomism. From none of them could an atomic bomb be developed. The contribution of ancient philosophers was necessarily limited to the origination and analysis of ideas, and in this they were successful. They suggested both continuity and discontinuity of matter, voids for atoms to move in, the porosity of matter, the motions, weight, and forms of atoms, and the association of number with them. Modern science has verified and given precision to these concepts, but has added to them the divisibility of the atom into constituent particles, and its inner porosity. The fantastic and meaningless forms given to atoms by Plato have been superseded by many definite configurations of their parts held together by forces in dynamic equilibrium.

In the course of six hundred years the arguments for atomism had all been stated and interest in it languished. The concept passed from philosophy to ancient medicine. But Galen, whose reputation as a physician was second only to that of Hippocrates, finally rejected it as impossible of reconciliation with the phenomena of living organisms. No such idea was anciently propounded as that lifeless atoms could assemble in molecules of living protoplasm. So with the death of Galen about A.D. 200 atomism passed almost into oblivion, until some fifteen centuries later when it was restored to scientific thought.

Medieval Atomism

Throughout the long period of the Middle Ages until the time of Descartes, who published his *Le Monde* in 1633, atomism remained an outcast from philosophy, except for an occasional remark by some writer who generally, like Sir Francis Bacon, condemned it. But the idea did not lose its vitality, and as physical science slowly revived, the atom was inevitably fitted into the foundations. Descartes made corpuscles, as atoms for a time were called, the basis of his natural philosophy of the world, which held its ground for about a century until superseded by the grand system of Newton. His whirling universe was a corpuscular continuum without voids, and so he restored atomism by adroitly conforming to its opposing principles. In the absence of the knowledge of immaterial forces of attraction, which were introduced by Newton, the atoms were still supposed to be held together by clutching mechanisms, such as branching, hooking, wedging, pinning, and even glueing. In their abortive efforts to transmute substances like lead into gold, the alchemists seem to have contributed nothing to the advancement or clarification of atomism.

In the revival of the concept, the Honourable Robert Boyle (1667), a contemporary of Newton, divided the properties of atoms into two classes: the physical or primary qualities, such as size, shape, number, weight, motion, or rest; and the sensible qualities, or secondary qualities as Locke (1690) styled them, such as colour, sound, taste, odour, pain, hotness, and cold, to which atoms in application to the body gave rise. In due time the secondary qualities were relegated as sensations to the mind or brain where they have properly remained, and atomism was set free to develop the physical properties alone.

The subsequent growth of scientific atomism depended, as was realized later, on the knowledge of two factors, the proper definition of an element, and the relative weights of atoms, the former of which was made by Boyle and the latter outlined by Dalton. For the first time an element was correctly defined as a substance out of which nothing but itself can be obtained. More than a century later, in France, Lavoisier (1789), a victim of the Revolution, discarded the four "Aristotelian elements" and prepared a tentative list of thirty-three new ones in accordance with Boyle's definition. Sir Humphrey Davy in 1802 recorded forty-two elements; and though he isolated several additional ones himself, yet, influenced by traditional Greek parsimony, he was much perturbed at their steadily increasing number. Today ninety-two natural elements are known, of which the now famed uranium is the heaviest and last, while two artificially produced transuranic elements, neptunium and plutonium, must now be added to the list. The names of these three elements were adopted by analogy with the outermost planets of the solar system.

The atomic theory of matter was placed on an incontrovertibly numerical basis by Dalton in his works published in 1808-10. Like Lavoisier he made

the balance the fundamental instrument of chemistry. In his theory the essential idea was atomic weight which was not measured absolutely in ounces or grams, but only relatively to that of hydrogen regarded as unity, or, as is now done, to that of oxygen as sixteen.

Thus the science of chemistry developed on the basis of the atoms of elements combining in definite proportions to form the molecules of compounds, and of voids between atoms in which their motions could be executed. Though remarkable advances were made in theoretical chemistry, in its industrial applications, and in the relations of atoms to one another as shown by the arrangement of elements according to the Periodic Law, yet the original notion of atomic indivisibility was retained. The fundamental problem remained unsolved as to why atoms differ so greatly in weight and so enormously in properties and yet retain their progressive and recurrent similarities as portrayed in Mendeléyev's Periodic Law. Progress of knowledge and frustration continued side by side until, at the end of the nineteenth century, the mystery was finally disclosed. But again, out of the atomic theory held down to that date no atomic bomb could have been developed.

Modern Atomism

The modern era of atomism was inaugurated in 1897 by Sir J. J. Thomson, the great physicist of the famous Cavendish laboratory, through the discovery of the electron as a constituent of all atoms. The indivisible atom of Greek philosophy and of nineteenth-century science was at last proved to be divisible; and it is this divisibility, with its startling physical consequences, which has precipitated a crisis in world affairs. As Democritus founded in its broadest sense the atomic age, so Thomson founded the electronic age, and modern atomism.

The new era was preceded by now significant discoveries. If the air is largely, but not wholly, exhausted from a "vacuum tube" (a familiar object in illuminated signs) with two metallic terminals or electrodes, one, the anode, to carry the electric discharge in, and the other, the cathode, to carry it out, very striking phenomena at once appear. From the cathode, streams of rays, the cathode rays, are emitted which excite luminescence on the glass or on a screen placed in the tube, an observation originally made in 1858. These streams of rays consist of electrons travelling at speeds scores of thousands of miles per second. From the anode other streams of heavy particles, first observed by Goldstein, travel towards the cathode, with lesser speeds, but at rates still measured in thousands of miles per second. The cathode rays or electrons are atoms of negative electricity and hence are all alike no matter what is the source. The anode rays are positively charged particles, but not atoms of positive electricity (except in the case of hydrogen), which differ in weight and substance with the gas in the tube. If the gas is nitrogen, the anode rays are atoms of nitrogen

which have lost an electron. If the gas is oxygen the anode rays are likewise atoms of oxygen which have lost an electron.

In 1895 Röntgen discovered X-rays, and in the following year radioactivity was found by Becquerel. From the experiments of Faraday on electrolysis in 1833, Helmholtz in 1881 inferred the atomic nature of electricity which was verified by the identification of the electron as the atom of negative electricity. These observations originally appeared to have nothing in common until the discovery of the electron united them in an intricately constituted atom. When the radioactive radiations were analysed by Rutherford into alpha and beta rays, the latter were found to be electrons. The collision of electrons with a metal target in the cathode-ray tube originated the X-rays. The alpha rays, though positively charged, differed from the positive anode rays, and were found to be helium atoms which had lost an electron.

The alluring process of atom building now began. Since an atom in its normal state is electrically neutral, there must be a positive charge somewhere within it to balance exactly the negative electrons. Rutherford suggested an atom like the solar system in which particles of positive electricity, called protons, formed the nucleus around which electrons revolved like planets around the sun. Atoms differ from each other in the number of planetary electrons, and in the equal number of protons in the nucleus. Since the electrons have a very minute mass, the weight of an atom is centered in the heavy central nucleus. So far apart are the electrons that the Rutherford atom is relatively as "porous as the solar system." The emptiness of matter is an extraordinary discovery of modern atomic physics.

The electrons by themselves are of fundamental importance. They constitute the electric currents in conductors which are the basis of all applications to industry and communication by telegraph and telephone. In radio tubes electrons are essential for the reception of broadcasting, and in photoelectric cells, the popular "electric eye," they find increasing usefulness. In properly designed cathode-ray tubes electrons are the essence of radar, and in other forms of tubes electrons furnish the remarkable X-rays. So widespread are their applications that the period since their discovery may well be called the electronic age.

In 1913, Moseley, a gifted young English investigator, a victim of the unfortunate Gallipoli expedition of the First World War, discovered that an atom should exist corresponding to every whole number from 1 to 92, which are the atomic numbers of hydrogen, the lightest, and uranium, the heaviest, natural elements known. The atomic number and the atomic weight, or mass number, as it is now often called, are of profound importance in revealing the details of atomic structure.

A remarkable development in atomic physics was made by Sir J. J. Thomson in his discovery that the atoms of an element are not all alike; they differ in atomic weight though not in atomic number. These atoms

have the same chemical properties and are known as isotopes, since they occupy, as the word indicates, the same place in the Periodic Table of the elements. Oxygen, for example, exists in three isotopic forms, while tin has ten. In all of the ninety-two elements there are 290 isotopes, which is also the number of different atoms. Two substances whose isotopes are of sensational importance are hydrogen and uranium, each with three. The atomic weights of the hydrogen isotopes are 1, 2, and 3; and those of uranium are 234, 235, and 238. Since water is composed of two atoms of hydrogen united with one atom of oxygen, the six isotopes can be put together in eighteen different ways to give possibly the same number of waters, which are mingled together in ordinary water. One of these, called heavy water, formed of hydrogen isotope number 2, was isolated by Urey in the United States, and has received much publicity from its use in developing the atomic bomb. One isotope of uranium, 235, is the actual substance of which the bomb is composed.

Another discovery of outstanding importance is that of the neutron by Sir James Chadwick. The neutron is an uncharged or neutral particle of about the same mass as the proton, which is now believed to be a constituent of all atoms except the first hydrogen isotope of unit atomic weight.

The constitution of the atom as modernly conceived may now be stated. Hydrogen of atomic number 1, and of atomic weight 1, consists of one planetary electron revolving about a nucleus of one proton. Hydrogen of atomic number 1 and atomic weight 2, has one electron and a nucleus of one proton and one neutron. Hydrogen of atomic number 1 and of atomic weight 3, has still one planetary electron and a nucleus of one proton with two neutrons. The increasing number of neutrons in the nucleus changes the atomic weight but not the atomic number. In uranium of atomic number 92 and atomic weight 238, there are ninety-two planetary electrons and in the nucleus ninety-two protons. But since the atomic weight is 238, there must be $238 - 92 = 146$ neutrons to account for it. In the isotope, uranium 235, there are the same number of electrons and protons but only 143 neutrons. Similarly from the atomic number and weight the constitution of all atoms can be ascertained.

These combinations of particles in most of the 290 atoms at present known are very stable and can only with difficulty be disturbed. But in atoms of the highest atomic weight, such as those of radium, uranium, and a few others, conditions of limited instability prevail and spontaneous disintegration occurs which gives rise to the phenomena of radioactivity. Planetary electrons occasionally fly off from the atom with enormous speeds and are called beta rays. Groups comprising two protons and two neutrons —the helium nucleus—for some reason spontaneously split off from the massive nucleus, and because of the powerful repulsive forces stream rapidly away as alpha rays with velocities as high as 18,000 miles per second. The nucleus also emits gamma rays which are very short and highly energetic X-rays. Thus an atom of radium is a powerful X-ray tube. If these rays

strike the flesh too long or too powerfully, destruction or "burns" occur which never heal.

In 1919 Lord Rutherford successfully attacked the problem of the artificial disintegration of the nucleus by bombarding nitrogen gas with high-speed alpha particles from a radium product. Occasionally a collision occurred, about once in a million times, with the result that a proton was split off from the atom. This experiment inaugurated the nuclear age of atomism, which has directly led to the production of the atomic bomb.

A notable advance was made by Rutherford's pupils, Cockcroft and Walton, who for bombardment used protons as projectiles to which the necessary high velocities were given artificially by electrical transformers. This experiment opened the way for the invention of other types of instruments of an exceptionally ponderous and expensive character by which electrons and protons could be given speeds almost comparable with the limiting velocity of light. These giant devices, such as the cyclotron, chiefly developed in the United States, are popularly known as "atom smashers," a term which seems to the writer highly objectionable. For smashing anything suggests reducing it to a shapeless ruin, whereas the nuclear disintegrations which they produce are orderly, if sometimes violent, disturbances which in all cases can be represented by nuclear equations. It would be difficult to represent by an equation an automobile after a collision.

Early in this century (1905) Einstein proposed his famous equation, $E = MC^2$, which shows the equivalence between the energy, E, of any substance and its mass, M. This relationship involves the velocity of light, C, which is the enormous quantity of 186,000 miles or 3×10^{10} centimetres per second. As this quantity is squared in the equation, it reaches the colossal magnitude of 9×10^{20}. The equation means that if a piece of matter is transformed into energy, it ceases to exist as matter and appears as energy in the form of heat, the greatest that can be imagined in nature. It is true for all matter, and, while including atoms of uranium, is not confined to them. As much energy can be derived from the transformation of a pound of earth or butter as of a pound of uranium. What must occur in every case is the disappearance of the matter and the simultaneous appearance of the equivalent energy. Both cannot exist at the same time. One pound of any kind of matter when transformed into energy will give 15,270,000,000 horse-power hours, or 11,400,000,000 kilowatt hours. The kilowatt hour is the unit by which we purchase electric energy for lighting our homes. No method is known by which the transmutation of mass into energy can be artificially effected. It occurs spontaneously in only two substances at present known, one of which is the isotope, uranium 235, and the other a new, artificially produced element, plutonium, of atomic number 94, which is obtained from uranium. The transformation is naturally accompanied by an almost instantaneous process known as a chain reaction which was discovered, and misinterpreted, by Hahn in Berlin, but

correctly interpreted by Dr. Lise Meitner in Germany who also discovered its occurrence in U235. The anti-Semitic fury of Germany compelled her to escape from that country, and she was able to give the information to the Danish physicist, Niels Bohr, who escaped from Denmark to England. Thus this all-important discovery was removed from Germany and placed at the disposal of the British and American physicists. From it came the atomic bomb. It may indeed be the case that the racial hatred of Hitler in the end cost him the loss of the war.

In the chain reaction a neutron strikes an atom of U235 and divides it into two massive parts which appear to be barium, a metal of atomic weight 137, and the rare gas krypton of atomic weight 84, and at the same time releases two or three other neutrons from the atom. This process is known as fission. Since the isotope of uranium has an atomic weight of 235, and those of barium and krypton are together equal to 221, to which must be added the weight of three neutrons, making 224, the shrinkage results in the loss of mass equal to 235 − 224 or 11 units. This is the amount of mass which is transformed into energy. In one pound of U235, the loss of weight through fission is only one one-thousandth of a pound; but this is suddenly transformed into 11,400,000 kilowatt hours of energy, which is equivalent to that produced by burning three million pounds, or 1,500 tons, of coal.

The released neutrons collide with neighbouring atoms and the process of fission is repeated and spreads almost instantaneously through the whole mass of the isotope 235. The chain reaction does not occur in U238. For fission to continue, it is essential to have a sufficiently large mass of uranium 235 or of plutonium. In too small a mass it stops through loss of neutrons. As U235 is mixed with ordinary uranium 238 in the low proportion of one pound of the former to 140 pounds of the latter, it is essential that it should be separated, and that is the carefully guarded secret process. Sufficient U235 or plutonium is an atomic bomb. If two or more sub-critical quantities of U235 are placed by themselves in the bomb, and at the decisive moment are suddenly thrown together, enough stray neutrons in the air start innumerable chain reactions which of themselves sweep through the mass producing a colossal release of energy.

If the equivalent energy produced by 1,500 tons of coal were gradually released by burning one ton a day, it would take over four years. In the atomic bomb this quantity of energy for each pound of material is released in a minute fraction of a second. The concentrated heat energy therefore raises the temperature to hundreds of millions of degrees, the light is for the moment far brighter than that of the sun, and the out-rushing air-blast has a pressure and a temperature which probably no structure can withstand within a mile or two of the explosion. This energy is the greatest known to science and it cannot be exceeded except by increasing the number of atoms disintegrated. In this way only can bombs of increasing destructiveness be constructed. If fission through chain reactions could occur in any other substance, it also would be equally effective as an atomic bomb.

Atomic energy of this type has no place in the Democritean and medieval concepts of the atom. It is associated with the modern atom only because of its divisibility and electronic and nuclear structure.

The Significance of Atomic Energy

A flood of literature on atomic energy and on the consequences of its discovery has naturally been precipitated upon the world, and six books have been submitted to the writer for review.*

The books by Professor Robertson, of Queen's University, and Professor Smyth, of Princeton, are by distinguished physicists and therefore they can be relied upon for scientific accuracy. Professor Robertson's book was originally published before the atomic bomb was known, and in its present enlarged form it includes the most recent developments of nuclear physics upon which the bomb was constructed. From the purely scientific standpoint it is the most important of the list. The greater part can readily be understood by any reader even without technical training in physics; but the nuclear equations, while clear to anyone with an elementary knowledge of chemistry and physics, would probably bother other readers.

The Report by Professor Smyth also contains in the first thirty pages a résumé of the essential knowledge upon which the atomic bomb is founded. Its clarity of expression should commend it to the general reader. But the main part of the book is an account of the whole Manhattan Project of the bomb construction, with many names of those participating in it, as far as it is permissible to release the information. The essential details of preparation and construction of the bomb are covered by official secrecy, and no account is therefore obtainable in this book or anywhere else. Until superseded eventually by full details when they are released, this book will be the standard source of information.

The other two books on "atomic energy" and "atom smashers" are of a different type. In the former, Mr. Dietz gives in journalistic style an account of the growth of atomism from Democritus to the present time;

**Atomic Artillery and the Atomic Bomb.* By John K. Robertson. New York: D. Van Nostrand Co. [Toronto: Copp Clark]. 1945. Pp. xiv, 173. ($2.75)

Atomic Energy for Military Purposes: The Official Report on the Development of the Atomic Bomb under the Auspices of the United States Government, 1940-1945. By Henry D. Smyth. Princeton: Princeton University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders]. 1945. Pp. xii, 264. ($1.75 and $2.50)

Atomic Energy in the Coming Era. By David Dietz. New York and Toronto: Dodd Mead & Co. 1945. Pp. 184. ($2.50)

Atom Smashers: A Story of Discovery. By Raymond E. Yates. New York: Didier [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1945. Pp. 182. ($2.50)

Modern Man is Obsolete. By Norman Cousins. New York: The Viking Press [Toronto: Macmillan]. 1945. Pp. 59. ($1.25)

Some Political Consequences of the Atomic Bomb: A Public Lecture Delivered in the University of Oxford. By E. L. Woodward. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1945. Pp. 26. (25c.)

there are also very brief sketches (and photographs) of distinguished investigators of atomic constitution—all assembled in very readable form. Perhaps the expressions of appreciation of investigators are rather too exuberant and may be embarrassing to the persons themselves. The international spirit of science is everywhere evident, and the book is free from the perfervid local patriotism which disfigures many publications. Some criticism may be directed against the first chapter, containing speculations on supposed future applications of atomic energy which are limited only by the extravagant imagination of the author. The likelihood of illuminating cities by "artificial suns" on steel towers, and of making power generators the size of pills for motor-cars, is at present remote.

The book *Atom Smashers*, by Mr. Yates, is "popular" to the last degree. It will appeal to readers who like to know that the neutron is a "humdinger of a bullet," and to learn the "crashing announcements" of scientific discoveries. In several places the physics is inaccurate, as, for example, in the descriptions of the Millikan oil-drop experiment, heavy hydrogen, and the nature of electricity. Electrons do not have "charges" of a million volts. A more widely known space than the "Grand Central Station of New York" might better have been employed for comparison. Incidentally "Gieger" should be spelled "Geiger." The author is over-impressed by the huge "atom smashers," such as the cyclotron. While he hopes that photographs of parts of such complicated devices will clarify the descriptions, the opposite effect of confusion seems likely to be produced, which will not be minimized by the detailed account of the operation of the cyclotron. It is unfortunate that the author, who is capable of dramatic descriptions of scientific phenomena, did not take the trouble to present his subject with greater accuracy, and in more restrained language.

Within the narrow limit of a single lecture, Professor E. L. Woodward discusses three proposed methods of control of the atomic bomb: by one nation, by a world government, and by a world international organization. He quite reasonably dismisses them all as impracticable. In their place he suggests that any nation using atomic bombs without the unanimous approval of members of the Security Council, should itself be mercilessly bombed by all other powers. Precarious indeed must be peace when safety is secured only by threat of annihilation.

Some effort to assess the human significance of atomic energy is made by Norman Cousins in his enlarged editorial, *Modern Man is Obsolete*. That the present world civilization has long been on the decline and is now perilously facing catastrophe is evident. But it is equally clear that, apart from the sudden menace of destructive atomic energy, a new world-order is arising which in large measure is due to science. World communication now embraces the whole globe. World transportation is so swift that no two places on its surface are more than sixty flying-hours apart. Despite its division into many races, nations, and languages, the world has become a geographic unit. Business and finance recognize this fact, and the great

corporations and cartels divide the world among them without the least regard for national boundaries or sentiment, except that each unit secures its own country for exploitation by itself. To dominate this world-order was the aim of Germany. While this attempt has been defeated at frightful cost, the new world-era is still before us. There are minds so obsessed with the past that they are incapable of receiving so enlarged and elevating a concept. Fearful of and antagonistic to the new, they cling tenaciously and despairingly to the old. These are isolationists. Perhaps it is because of this age-long spirit that a new era is always ushered in with violence. The "modern" man of five centuries ago (that is, his concepts) was obsolete when the ancient world was finally obliterated by the fall of Constantinople. But new world-movements, the revival of learning, the Reformation, the era of geographical discovery, the rise of science, the Industrial Revolution, political freedom, soon began to manifest themselves; they have continued to the present time and are now expanding into the new era. Indeed it is the movements then beginning that are now unfolding a still grander world-order into which man is precipitated by the release of atomic power. The stern analogies of history indicate that catastrophic change is the precursor of a new age. Forces of destruction, both human and physical, are now in existence on a scale of an immensity hitherto impossible and unimaginable, and they will, it can scarcely be doubted, shortly engulf the world; but out of the confusion and violence it will emerge into a new order. It is not man that is obsolete, it is his concepts. Given sufficient time, the new age could gradually be established. But time is not available; or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the time which was available has been uselessly frittered away until probably insufficient now remains. Education can do nothing to ward off the threatened upheaval, for education has created the menace. Nothing is apparent to show that the world is in the least susceptible to a religious appeal. And so catastrophe still is the likely prelude to the new world-order. Perhaps future generations will see more clearly than is possible for us that catastrophe was necessary to remove the evils of a grand but perishing age and to select the nations that were worthy to construct the new world-order.

The development of the atomic era from its inception by Democritus to the present crisis is of singular interest when contrasted with the succession of empires of "diminishing glory but increasing strength" which constituted the ancient world. It must not be supposed that there is any connection whatever between the theory of atomism and the course of empire, for the builders of kingdoms knew nothing of and cared less for the concepts of science. But the parallelism serves to show the permanence of correct ideas in contrast with the transitory nature of political affairs.

When physical science, including the doctrine of elements, was founded by Thales (600 B.C.), the first and most glorious of world empires, the Babylonian, was dominant. When atomism was proposed by Democritus (420 B.C.) the Medo-Persian Empire had succeeded to its power. While

the foundations of atomistic philosophy were under discussion by Plato, Aristotle, and Epicurus, the Macedonian Empire was rising into pre-eminence. When Lucretius (75 B.C.) gave to atomism its highest ancient development, Rome had established its sway over most of the known world. The rejection and decline of atomism initiated by Galen (A.D. 200) paralleled the beginning of the decline of the Roman Empire at the accession of Commodus (A.D. 185), while the extinction of that Empire and of the ancient world-order by the fall of Constantinople (1453) inaugurated world movements which brought atomism into scientific thought afresh. The rise of modern countries parallels the increasing importance of the atomic theory. Spain passed the climax of her power when atomism began to flourish. The recognition of the elements of matter in France by Lavoisier, executed in the Revolution because the "Republic had no need of chemists," came just when the Bourbon dynasty was extinguished in blood. The ascendancy of the Anglo-Saxon people, the founding of the British Empire and of the United States, and the progressive geographical discovery of the world have paralleled the establishment of the atomic empire of science. The two attempts of Germany to attain world domination came when the divisibility of the atom was achieved, and the electronic and nuclear eras of the atomic age were founded. The world war just won by the United Nations was, as it now appears, a race for the discovery of the release of atomic energy by the opposing powers. It is a remarkable coincidence that military victory came simultaneously with the victory over nature by science. The significance of the atom had been brilliantly and tragically established. The future is uncertain. But it seems assured that the uncontrolled release of atomic energy will in large measure decide the future dominant power of the world; while its ultimate controlled release will mightily help to complete the emancipation of mankind from unending and hopeless toil, and free the mind and spirit for the high purposes for which they were clearly designed.

LETTERS IN CANADA: 1945

Edited by A. S. P. Woodhouse

Part I: English-Canadian Letters

THIS is the tenth annual survey of Letters in Canada. With it the task undertaken in 1936 is completed: the examination of Canadian writing for a decade, year by year. The continuation of "Letters in Canada," and the form that, if it is continued, it shall take, will be considered by the Advisory Board. Pressure of other duties (which have this year made the production of the survey almost impossible) will certainly necessitate some reorganization and the appointment of a new editor. Of the utility of "Letters in Canada" it is difficult for those who have planned or produced it to judge, and unfitting for them to speak. It is permissible, however, to reassert the honesty of the purpose which inspired it, and the determination to judge the works presented without fear or favour. As will have been apparent, this purpose has furnished the common ground between the different reviewers. There has been no attempt to impose a policy or to conceal differences in point of view. Two of the principal reviewers have been with us from the first, or almost from the first, Professor E. K. Brown, who shared in the original planning of the survey, and Professor J. R. MacGillivray, who took over the criticism of Fiction in the second issue. To them, and the other reviewers, such success as "Letters in Canada" has attained has been due—to them and to Mrs. Hewitt and her helpers and successors in the Editorial Office of the University Press, who compiled the lists on which editor and reviewers worked.

The length of this year's survey has necessitated our reverting to an expedient which we have used before: we are holding "French-Canadian Letters" and "New-Canadian Letters" for the July issue.

I. POETRY — E. K. Brown

Those of us who have watched for the appearance of Mr. F. R. Scott's poems in the magazines and anthologies of the past two decades have also looked forward to the year which would bring a collection of them. That it would be an impressive book no one could have doubted. It is more impressive than I had expected—it reveals that Mr. Scott is among the few modern poets who can be read at length with unwearied technical pleasure, with intellectual satisfaction, and with unresting poetical excitement. *Overture* is one of the best volumes of poetry this country has seen, and what I have elsewhere described as the wall that Americans have raised against Canadian poetry should not prove high enough to keep out Mr. Scott. His poetry is the expression of a man who is living intensely and sensitively on all levels, spiritual, intellectual, political and sensual. It is the expression of a man who, very much a citizen of his own country, is also a citizen of the world. I do not know of any book in prose or verse in

the past five years which more powerfully shows that we in Canada, or some of us, enough of us to matter, have come of age.

The first great strength of this poetry is a core of belief. No one who knows the history of poetry can doubt that it is of immense advantage to a poet that he should believe firmly, and that his belief should be comprehensive, enlarging to the spirit, and so substantial as to command at the very least the reader's ungrudged respect. It is, above all, of use to the poet that he should believe in mind, not the *siccum lumen* (as I need scarcely say) but mind as Wordsworth or Coleridge conceived it. "Every time," wrote A. C. Bradley forty years ago in *English Poetry and German Philosophy in the Age of Wordsworth*, "has the defects of its qualities; but those periods in which, and those men in whom, the mind is strongly felt to be great, see more and see deeper than others. . . . And when the greatness of the mind is strongly felt, it *is* great and works wonders." The belief in the greatness of the mind has been rare in recent poetry, Canadian or other. It is strong in Mr. Scott's.

It rings out again and again. "To Certain Friends" is addressed to men with comfortably full minds but no intention or ability to do anything with them. It begins with agreeable lightness on the surface:

> They show great zeal collecting the news and statistics.
> They know far more about every question than I do,
> But their knowledge of how to use knowledge grows smaller and smaller.
>
> They make a virtue of having an open mind,
> Open to endless arrivals of other men's suggestions,
> To the rain of facts that deepens the drought of the will.
>
> Above all they fear the positive formation of opinion,
> The essential choice that acts as a mental compass,
> The clear perception of the road to the receding horizon.

Mr. Scott has not been unobservant when he has attended the meetings of our learned societies, or listened to the patter of comment in our senior common-rooms. At the close of the poem the note is a deeper one and angry:

> They will grow old searching to avoid conclusions,
> Refusing to learn by living, to test by trying,
> Letting opportunities slip from their tentative fingers.
>
> Till one day, after the world has tired of waiting,
> While they are busy arguing about the obvious,
> A half-witted demagogue will walk away with their children.

This poem is such an attack on a disease of the mind as only a man who passionately believes in its right use could conceive.

The mind, Mr. Scott holds, will help us to plan and establish a great society. To do so we must drop much that has charm, for the charm, he thinks, is a tie with things which are far from charming, antiquated, crippling to the mind, intolerable to the alert moral sense. I continue to think that Mr. Scott is for dropping too much. In the title-poem he is for

dropping Mozart, by which he means the states of being that Mozart can arouse in those who love his work. He is for dropping tea-parties and bric-à-brac—partly this is mere sentiment, for Mr. Scott like the other poets of his group has ears that are closed to the beauty of Victorian poetry, and eyes resentfully critical of the Victorian minor arts. Perhaps the examples of both had an almost peculiar badness in Montreal and Quebec when Mr. Scott was growing up. But the mind he will never drop:

> And if the ultimate I, the inner mind,
> The only shelter proof against attack
> Sustain these days, carry this banner out
> To the clumsy dawn: A green seed
> Lies on the ground under a leafless tree.

Many of the poems express Mr. Scott's socialist plan for the great society. They escape the flatness which curses so much proletarian verse, partly because Mr. Scott generally avoids abstract polysyllables, rhetorical exclamations, and all the rest of the dreary apparatus of inflated prose which some versifiers demand that we accept as being a finer distillation of poetry than Yeats's lyricism. The essence of Mr. Scott's social ideal is mind in society, the planned society; and in his way of conceiving this he is no naive rationalist, he is indeed very much of a mystic. For partisan reasons he would not perhaps appreciate the comparison; but his "socialism" is much akin to the Prime Minister's, one of whose recurrent quotations is: "We are members one of another." By both political leaders mind is conceived in a generous sense, inhibiting neither to poetry nor to religion.

There is one reflective lyric in the collection which I should set beside Mr. Leo Kennedy's "Words for a Resurrection" and Mr. Pratt's "Silences," that is, in the very highest range of reflective lyrical verse in the past quarter-century. This is "Advice":

> Beware the casual need
> By which the heart is bound;
> Pluck out the quickening seed
> That falls on stony ground.
>
> Forgo the shallow gain,
> The favour of an hour.
> Escape, by early pain,
> The death before the flower.

There is no reason why this, in its almost perfect purity, should ever age; and its wisdom will stand the strictest test, and emerge a living thing. There are a number of poems in this vein, some of them weakened by the closing lines in which Mr. Scott almost always tries for a climax and sometimes comes to ruin, others almost as perfect as "Advice." Among the triumphs I should place "Dedication," "November Pool" and "Below Quebec." Among the poems with disappointing endings are "Calvary," "Devoir Molluscule" and "Union." In "Union" the three final lines seem an obvious appendage, and I suggest to Mr. Scott that he consider the poem

as it stands and then the poem shorn of its appendage; perhaps he will agree that everything he wished to convey is conveyed without it, and that by dropping it he will enable the poem to rest in perfect proportion. "Teleological" is, I think, a poem of an inferior texture throughout; but in it also the final lines are loss.

Between Mr. Scott's poems and those of Mr. Earle Birney's second collection, *Now is Time*, there are many resemblances. Mr. Birney professes the same belief in mind, speaking with respect of a "map of a reasoned future"; his counsel to a World Organization is that "the iceberg is elective" for the dangerous fogs are projections only of our wills and thus are under our control. A social idealism, the same in final aim, animates him. He has almost the same pleasure in the precise vision, the firm touch, with him a harder touch.

Perhaps the essential differences are that Mr. Birney is more dramatic, and more bitter in temper. There is no narrative in this collection to remind us of *David;* instead we are given elegies. One of these is already widely known: "Joe Harris 1913-1942." This is in a highly successful poetic prose, and is intended, as its biblical captions emphasize, to be not only a lament for an individual and an account of his life and death, but a generalized accusing picture of the plight of a generation of poor Canadian boys upon whom a cruel necessity forced first a depression and then a war. "For Steve," in long stanzas with a curious and stirring effect of assonance, recounts a story which is much the same, but told with even less concentration on the individual, and a more wide-ranging concern with the Canadian economic and social problem,

> the human fissures
> that cleave the lanky land from which we grew.

"Man on a Tractor" belongs with the elegies, in the framework of thought at least, although in this poem the individual survives the worst that depression seconded by war can do against him. The poor of the tractor-man's generation (which is also Joe Harris's and Steve's, and roughly speaking is the generation following Mr. Birney's) had in the thirties an exceedingly raw deal. Mr. Scott is aware of this; it haunts Mr. Birney. His poems are packed with references to the plight of the unemployed. He speaks of the "ceaseless palsy of boxcars," the "slammed doors," the "graceless gingerly handout," the "stale handout," the "kicks in the rump or three day hungers," the "yardbulls ahead," the "pinched slumboy." The poor people, rural or urban, have been ridden mercilessly and smugly by the rich, "fat and unheeding":

> sprouting thicker than wheat are the towers
> of its traders, shining more than the headstone
> his father saved from a lifetime's farming.

What Chesterton called "the impudent fatness of the few" is never far from Mr. Birney's mind. The rich are on high either in their towers, or

as hawks circling over the helpless flocks, and when they descend it is always to hurt. Their life is seen from below angrily, and without any real sense of motive. The dramatic quality in Mr. Birney's poetry suffers by the contrast between his ever-ready sympathy with the poor, a sympathy grounded in understanding, and his summary unconvincing presentation of their masters. His bitterness of mood forces its way into almost everything he writes, sometimes to give it greater energy and vigour, but often to weaken a note of delight or triumph, or to destroy a touch of reality.

The personality set before the reader in Mr. Charles Bruce's *Grey Ship Moving* is extraordinarily attractive without being strongly individualized. The poems express, often in narrative form, the moods and thoughts of a man nearing forty,

> With a tentative foot on the door-step of middle age,

who has been living in easy but not luxurious fashion, busy in his brown-walled office in a large inland city and a trifle bored in his suburban home set well back from the street, very often mindful of his childhood along the Nova Scotian coast, stopping to

> consider where the mackerel run
> And three grey fish-huts on a windy beach.

He is maturely introspective, often questioning the wisdom of his choice of an urban inland life so much at odds with the impulses of his blood. The war has taken this man from his rut; it has brought to him an unexpected variety of scene, width of association and range of action. Trite as the phrase has become, it is impossible to avoid saying that the war has brought perspective. And an admirable truth of perspective is the main virtue in this man's spirit. Broadly typical in its concerns, its regrets, its maturities, of so many Canadians, indeed of so many North Americans, this personality expresses itself in a quiet casual-sounding agreeable medium, thoroughly in keeping with its essential qualities. *Grey Ship Moving* is extremely pleasant to read. It is minor poetry, but the poetry is authentic:

> There is virtue too in a grey and dragonish sea.

In *Sandstone* Miss Anne Marriott reprints *The Wind Our Enemy* with which her fame was established in 1939, and half of the poems in *Salt Marsh*, her chap-book of 1942. To these familiar pieces she adds fourteen that are new. In noticing *Salt Marsh* in the survey of three years ago I said that nothing Miss Marriott had done since *The Wind Our Enemy* had equalled that stark and vivid evocation of drought on the prairie. The poems which now appear for the first time are more impressive than most of those in *Salt Marsh*. They are above all impressive as lyrics. The peculiar reputation that *The Wind Our Enemy* gave her, they will not reinforce; but they point to a greater power in pure lyric. In many of the new poems, as in many from *Salt Marsh*, there is a fundamental disharmony between the kinds of emotion Miss Marriott wishes to record, and the kinds of diction and rhythm she prefers to use as her instruments. Put simply,

the emotions are gentle, the instruments rough. In the landscapes, and Miss Marriott is very much a poet of landscapes, the gentle and the rough are brought together with an interesting effect, but at the cost of discomfort to the reader's sense of ideal unity.

True Harvest is uneven, as all Mr. Arthur Bourinot's collections have been. The title suggests that the volume will carry some of the poet's essential meanings; and it does deal with serious issues in a serious way. War, death, growing old, the national future weigh upon him; and the grave mood they fashion is held even when he ventures a little less seriously into the past in dramatic monologues which present the last days of the widow of Samuel de Champlain and the pain of Ariadne deserted by Theseus. Except in a few passages which are prolix the monologues are successful. More striking are two short poems on the grave, "Utter Silence" and "Only to Rest." Stanzas from the latter will suggest the seriousness of mood and the severe beauty of the form at its best:

> Nothing is heard
> Under the ground—
> Not even a word,
> Never a sound.
>
> Cities may break,
> Great nations pass,
> The flesh will not wake
> Under the grass.

With *Here and Now*, by Mr. Irving Layton, the editors of *First Statement** open a new series in which two other volumes, Mr. Patrick Anderson's *A Tent for April* and Mrs. Miriam Waddington's *Green World*, appeared before the end of 1945. Mr. A. M. Klein, Mr. F. R. Scott and Mr. A. J. M. Smith have joined with a number of younger writers to make of Montreal once more what it was in the late twenties and early thirties, the most adventurous experimental centre of Canadian poetry. The group or groups have expressed themselves in a number of magazines; and now, in this series, a more important form of expression has been devised. It is excellent that a group of poets with kindred views and techniques should come together to make publication easier and more effective for themselves, and, I hope, for others in sympathy with them. I have deplored more than once the late date at which so many Canadian poets publish their first collection of verse, Mr. Smith, for instance, at forty-one, and Mr. F. R. Scott at forty-six. Perhaps through the new series poets may begin to have that impact which verses in a magazine, or even in a chap-book, cannot provide, before they pass thirty. Another reason for satisfaction in the existence of the new series is rather a reason for dissatisfaction concerning the general relation between poets and publishers in Canada at present. The five collections so far noticed have all come from one house, the Ryerson Press;

*The magazine has since been reborn as the *Northern Review*; see below "III. Remaining Material," section IV.

aside from them, and from the *First Statement* publications, there is but one significant book to notice, and it is not a true book but a small brochure. Wise as the decisions of the Ryerson Press have proved, it is exceedingly unhealthy that all poetry should come through the channel of one publisher.

Here and Now is an appropriate title. Mr. Layton's thirty-two poems are saturated with Montreal and with the political and social problems of the immediate present. He complains:

> Since Auden set the fashion
> Our poets grow tame;
> They are quite without passion,
> They live without blame.

I do not see what harm there must be in living without blame—the belief that drugs or drabs are the catalysts for poetry is outmoded—and in Mr. Layton's poems there is very little passion, except in the trivialized form of resentment. No one will ever call him tame, however, and his rich chunks of experience are unfailingly interesting. In Mr. Patrick Anderson's *A Tent for April* there is a spirited delight in language for its own sweet sake which is rare in our poetry. Sometimes his gambollings are heavy as in "Writer," which opens with this stanza:

> He turns his deadskin memories to the day
> and he dies daily writing his doom's diary
> while body's queer career is his carrier
> in time across a plain of life and paper.

More often they are so light as to be elusive. Images pour out in a wild flood as in his remarkable hermetic love poem "Summer's Joe," an instance of his method at its best. The multiplication of the levels on which he is seeking to communicate has probably led to some stifling of the real self from which he writes. Too many of the poems leave the impression which is often created by the work of young poets of energy and intensity and technical preoccuptaion: that the poet had no clear conception of what he most wished to say, or how it would be best to say it. The two dozen short poems in Mrs. Miriam Waddington's *Green World*—Mr. Anderson's volume ends with these two words—express her revulsion from the social structure of the time, her pain in personal relationships, and even a dark view of natural beauty. These are essentially urban poems, of Montreal and Toronto,

> far from snows of winnipeg
> and seven sister lakes.

They are set in a framework of reflection concerning world-wide misery and catastrophe:

> All hope and hear the Spaniard's curse
> Even in dreams.
>
> I see over your shoulders the years like a fascist army.

Personal relations are ruined by solipsism:

> So tell me your misfortunes, lay your plans,
> I'm listening with one ear to my past.

And the general effect of the poem which closes with these lines, and is ironically entitled "Sympathy," suggests that both ears are responsive only to the poet's past. Love is dismissed as "idiot female ecstasy." In Mrs. Waddington's poetry there are no crises of despair or pessimism; it is slow-moving and bored. One may wish, after reading a number of her pieces in succession, for a sharper focus, a more perceptible progression.

To the most interesting poetry of the year there remains one addition to make, not of a book but of a brochure. Mr. Pratt's *They are Returning* runs to just over three hundred lines. In it he essays to suggest the experience of the Canadian soldier during the years of war, and to draw the future as with personal good fortune and national wisdom it may take shape. His conception of his subject allows him a number of couplets of masterly narrative; some resonant outbursts of names

> Like Buchenwald or Maidanek or Lidice

and above all, perhaps, some examples of his unmatched power to translate scientific fact into the magic of poetical language:

> They could direct the pale-gold
> Drip of the plasma or the *mould*
> Into a median vein and see
> It re-enact
> The Resurrection from the Dead.

The rhythm is grave and stirring, and the form elaborate and distinguished. In the thought there is the dignity, the stoicism that befits one of the masters of our poetry expressing himself on one of the greatest occasions in the history of Canada. *They are Returning* is an occasional poem: it does not fall below its great function.

Mr. Ira Dilworth's *Twentieth Century Verse* has a special significance for the student of Canadian poetry: it is the first noteworthy selection of modern verse in which a large number of Canadian poets are set side by side with the American, the English and the Irish. If the book has the circulation it deserves, it may acquire for Canadian poetry a large new audience. Of the eighty-four poets represented fifteen are Canadian, a liberal proportion indeed. Mr. Pratt, as a narrative poet, presents a difficulty to the anthologist; and it is certain that in seven pages, all that Mr. Dilworth allows him, he cannot be given his fair chance. But why confine him to seven pages, when a much more generous allotment is given to Stephen Benét, Mr. Birney and Miss Audrey Brown ? I miss a sonnet in the selections from Sir Charles Roberts, and regret the exclusion of Robert Finch, Leo Kennedy and A. M. Klein. In general Mr. Dilworth's choice of Canadian poets and poems is happy; and his brief biographical notes are accurate, interesting and illuminating.

II

The longest poem of the year is Mr. Andrew Merkel's *Tallahassee*, a narrative of Confederate raiders, coming to its climax in the account of the run of the *Tallahassee* from Wilmington to Halifax and away again, in the teeth of Federal men-of-war. In a narrative poem the reader does not, and should not, expect the high finish of the ode or the elegy; but Mr. Merkel is so rough and ready in manner as to distract the attention almost constantly from what he has to recount, and to rob his tale of most of its excitement. The printing is careless in the extreme, and many of the stanzas have been mangled by the misgrouping of lines. *Banner in the Sky*, by Miss Lilian Found, has a preface by Mr. Wilfrid Eggleston which is a model in a genre where it is so easy to be officious, or absurd, or portentous, or cowardly. "Her primary concern," he says, "is the underlying thought, not the superficial finish. Of some of her own lines the dictum applied to Thoreau may also be relevant, that the 'thyme and marjoram are not yet honey'." They are indeed very far from honey; for Miss Found's thought is an essayist's rather than a poet's, and much more than superficial finish is lacking. The thought is solid, however: Miss Found could stock a dozen minor poets in ideas, and not observe the loss. Mr. Lloyd Douglas's preface to Mrs. Dorothy Sproule's *Poems of Life* is as unfortunate as Mr. Eggleston's is apt. "The Dorothy Sproule poems," he says, "vibrate with spiritual energy. . . . Their power is rather that of the quiet storage-battery than the noisy dynamo." There are other jewels in the page. The poems are harmless, and some of them have charm; but it is difficult to do them justice after such an opening blast. Mr. H. H. Langton's preface to Miss Helen Fairbairn's *From Dawn to Dusk* is a mere certificate of acquaintance; and I am at a loss to know what function it could possibly serve. Miss Fairbairn's verses belong to the late Victorian manner, are elaborate and melodious, and very often delightfully dexterous. Like many late Victorian poets she does not leave the impression of strong belief in anything she says. Professor O. J. Stevenson's *A Group of Poems* belongs to a kindred but simpler tradition; his mastery of his medium is not so striking, and his sense of his substance is a little stronger, although the substance is slight. The *Poems* of Miss Laura Bedell are always competent, and, unlike many of the collections noticed in this paragraph, have sentiment without sentimentality; but they are powerless to seize upon one's emotions or mind. *The Moving Finger*, by Miss Mary Matheson, has many resemblances to Miss Bedell's *Poems*, but is less dexterous, and less finely controlled. *Vistas Grave and Gay* and *Here's to Happiness*, two little collections by Mr. T. B. Gleave, have won not only popularity but critical approval. It is easy to understand their popularity, but difficult to conceive why the critics (in a preface we are told that Mr. Gleave does not write for them) were pleased. *The Sojourner*, by Mr. Arthur C. Nash, is a series of musings in poetic prose. *God's Plenty* is Canon J. E. Ward's reshaping of the story of Ruth

in a dramatic form; the verse is eloquent, and some of the songs are pure, but dramatic intensity, in which the biblical narrative is so rich, is flagging.

The "Ryerson Poetry Chap-Books," one of the most useful media for Canadian poetry, are slightly more numerous than usual. One half of Mrs. Hermia Harris Fraser's *Songs of the Western Islands* are on Indian themes, and call up agreeable memories of *Hiawatha;* the others touch on the immediate present and, although in these the expression is not often at the height of what is felt, something of the intensity of the feeling reaches the reader. In Mrs. Dorothy Howard's *When I Turn Home* what one misses is again the power of phrase by which such feelings and pictures as she offers are made memorable. The same comment applies to Mrs. Eileen Cameron Henry's *Sea-Woman.* In *And in the Time of Harvest,* by Mrs. Monica Roberts Chalmers, there is a greater originality of phrase and rhythm and a greater power in presenting ideas associated with feeling. Dr. Vere Jameson's *Moths after Midnight,* a somewhat larger collection, pleases by the variety of themes and forms, and also because here we are addressed by a fully adult intelligence, working on broad experience. The level of performance is uneven. "A Name" seizes upon the old theme of the incongruity and queer importance of names (Christian and patronymic) and makes of the perception the opportunity for a fine imaginative excursion. "Miracle" is a doctor's experience, sharply drawn.

With the "Chap-Books" it is natural to associate another valuable medium, the publications of the poetry societies. Of the three that have come to the QUARTERLY this year, from Montreal, Alberta and Saskatchewan, the first is much the most satisfactory. It is the smallest, and reflects more editorial discrimination. Doubtless exclusions present difficulties even to courageous editorial committees; but if the purpose of poetry groups is something superior to self-glorification or mutual applause, if it is to serve the interest of poetry, in their organs should appear only the truly poetic. If there is not enough of the truly poetic available for publications on the present plan, it is a simple decision to reduce the size of the brochures and to extend the intervals between appearances.

Three little booklets by Miss Evelyn Cook, undated and privately printed, have a sincerity and delicacy which lead one to wish for them a wider circulation. Miss Cook's talent is uneven for all its charm, and she too has much to gain from a more general circulation and a more critical audience than she has allowed herself. Hers is an interesting new voice, and with mention of another such voice, a stronger one, this survey must end. Four of the poems of Bertram Warr appear in the October issue of *Contemporary Verse,* a quarterly which takes on a higher distinction with every year. Bertram Warr was born in Toronto in 1917, lived there until 1938, spent that year in wandering through Canada, at the end of it left for London, where "against his convictions he was drafted into the RAF" in 1941, and was killed in action over Germany in April, 1943. A memorial volume is planned to contain his journal as well as his poems. English men

of letters noted the quality of the poems he contributed to a variety of magazines and anthologies. In the four poems now available to us there is a deep and sombre imaginative power, and an art which is adequate either for pure fancy of a grim kind or for strict realism informed by mature emotion. "Stepney, 1941" is one of the most striking poems precipitated by the war.

CHECK-LIST OF TITLES

Anderson (Patrick), A tent for April (New writers series, no. 2; Montreal, First Statement, 635 St. Paul St. W., Room 4, [30] pp., $1.00). **Attfield (H. M.)**, Echoes of war and other verse (Ilfracombe, N. Devon, Arthur H. Stockwell; Hamilton, Ont., the author, 45 Francis St., 1944, 46 pp., 2/-). **Bedell (Laura)**, From dawn to dusk: poems (Bloomfield, Ont., the author, 1944, [72] pp., $1.00). **Birney (Earle)**, Now is time (Toronto, Ryerson, 56 pp., $1.50). **Bourinot (A. S.)**, True harvest: poems (Toronto, Ryerson, viii, 56 pp., $2.00). **Bruce (Charles)**, Grey ship moving; with an introduction by Wilfrid Gibson (Toronto, Ryerson; London, Eng., British Authors' Press, viii, 34 pp., $1.50). **Canadian Authors Association, Edmonton Branch**, Alberta poetry year book, 1945-46 (Edmonton, the Association, c/o the Secr., Mrs. I. A. Scouten, 11337, 94th St., 56 pp.); **Montreal Branch, Poetry Group**, Poetry year book, 1945; edited by Leo Cox (Montreal, the Association, c/o Leo Cox, 1009 Laird Blvd., Mount Royal, viii, 30 pp., 50c.). **Chalmers (M. R.)**, And in the time of harvest (Ryerson poetry chap-books; Toronto, Ryerson, 12 pp., 60c.). **Cook (E. M.)**, Fragment; Harvest; Soliloquy (Islington, Ont., the author, Kipling Ave., n.d., 12 pp. each; for private distribution). **Dickie (C. H.)**, Rhyme . . . and reason (West Vancouver, the author, 1952 Bellevue Ave., 47 pp.). **Dowhan (Stanley)**, The leaves are scattered (London, Eng., British Authors' Press, 1944). **Edgar (M. S.)**, Wood-fire and candlelight (Toronto, Macmillan, xii, 122 pp., $2.00). **Elsom (Margaret)**, This hour (Woodstock, Ont., the author, Box 302, 13 pp.). **Fairbairn (Helen)**, From dawn to dusk: verses (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 50 pp., $2.00). **Found (Lilian)**, Banner in the sky (Ottawa, the author, 270 Harmer Ave., 38 pp.). **Fraser (D. A.)**, Centenary: a collection of verses, arranged in celebration of the one hundredth birthday of the city of Victoria, B.C., 1843-1943 (Victoria, the author, 314 Huntington Place, 1944, 40 pp., 50c.). **Fraser (H. H.)**, Songs of the western islands (Ryerson poetry chap-books; Toronto, Ryerson, 10 pp., 60c.). **Gleave (T. B.)**, Here's to happiness! (48 pp.); Vistas grave and gay (1944, 48 pp.) (Toronto, W. T. Kirkby Co., 219 Sorauren Ave.; Toronto, the author, 12 Alhambra Ave.). **Gray (L. C.)**, Gray acres (Carillon poetry chap-books; Toronto, Crucible Press, 1944, 32 pp., $1.00). **Harrington (Dorothy)**, Little things (Kitchener, Ont., the author, Freeport Sanatorium, n.d., 22 pp., 50c.). **Henry (E. C.)**, Sea-woman (Ryerson poetry chap-books; Toronto, Ryerson, 8 pp., 50c.). **Howard (Dorothy)**, When I turn home (Ryerson poetry chap-books; Toronto, Ryerson, 8 pp., 50c.). **Jameson (Vere)**, Moths after midnight (Ryerson poetry chap-books; Toronto, Ryerson, 14 pp., 75c.). **Johnson (C. H.)**, Story that never grows old (Wolfville, N.S., Davidson Brothers; Bridgewater, N.S., the author, 1944, 80 pp., 75c.). **King (W. J.)**, Romance thro' more than forty years (Montreal, the author, 5535 Côte St. Antoine Rd., 1944, 51 pp.). **Layton (Irving)**, Here and now (New writers series, no. 1; Montreal, First Statement, [44] pp., $1.00). **Lovell (R. G.)**, Twisted gold (Carillon poetry chap-books; Toronto, Crucible Press, 1944, 20 pp., 60c.). **McGee (R. B.)**, Songs for sighs (Peterboro, Ont., the author, 218 Rubidge St., 22 pp., 50c.). **McQuarrie (Nora)**, Rainbow of verse (Powell River, B.C., the *Town Crier*, 74 pp., $1.25). **Marriott (Anne)**, Sandstone and other poems (Toronto, Ryerson, vi, 42 pp., $1.50). **Matheson (Mary)**, "The moving finger," and other poems (New Westminster, B.C., the author, 4920 Douglas Rd., 1944, 48 pp.). **Merkel (Andrew)**, Tallahassee: a ballad of Nova Scotia

in the sixties (Halifax, Imperial Publishing Co., xii, 104 pp., $2.00). **Middleton (H. E.)**, Drumbeats through your dreams (Sackville, N.B., Tribune Press; Saint John, N.B., the author, 45 High St., $1.00). **Moore (P. H.)**, Smoke screen (Bridgewater, N.S., Bulletin Press, 1944, 79 pp., $3.00). **Morton (James)**, "The Churchill tree": songs of war and peace (Victoria, the author, 710 Rupert St., 44 pp.). **Nash (A. C.)**, The sojourner (Vancouver, R. H. Storer and Co.; Hollyburn, B.C., the author, 1891 Marine Drive, 1943, 64 pp., $2.00). **Paterson (A. O.)**, Dream of Noel, by A. O. P.; with a foreword by Hugh McLeod (Vancouver, the author, 1179, W 70th Ave., [12] pp.). **Pratt (E. J.)**, They are returning (Toronto, Macmillan, 15 pp., 50c.). **Ripley (Annie)**, En route (Victoria, the author, 2423 Dalhousie St., [36] pp.). **Saskatchewan Poetry Society**, Saskatchewan poetry book, 1945-46; cover design by Ella Davis (Regina, the Society, c/o the Secr., Clarence Linton, 1301 Garnet St., 38 pp.). **Scott (F. R.)**, Overture: poems (Toronto, Ryerson, viii, 80 pp., $2.00). **Sliter (D. M.)**, High wind (Carillon poetry chap-books; Toronto, Crucible Press, 1944, 32 pp.). **Sollows (A. S.)**, Climb the rigging (Toronto, Crucible Press, 1944, 52 pp., $1.10). **Sproule (Dorothy)**, Poems of life; 2nd ed.; with an introduction by Lloyd C. Douglas (Montreal, the author, 1235 Crescent St., 36 pp., $1.00). **Stevenson (O. J.)**, Group of poems (Guelph, Ont., the author, College Heights, 1944, 18 pp.). **Waddington (Miriam)**, Green world (New writers series, no. 3; Montreal, First Statement, [32] pp., $1.00). **Ward (J. E.)**, God's plenty: a pastoral idyll founded on the Book of Ruth with incidental lyrics (Toronto, Longmans Green, 66 pp., $1.00). **Winkler (G. E.)**, Lonely trails, by The Prospector (Victoria, Victoria Printing and Publishing Co., 521 Yates; Victoria, the author, 415 Scollard Blk., n.d., 170 pp.).

II. FICTION

J. R. MacGillivray

On several occasions in these annual surveys of Canadian fiction I have ventured to express the opinion that our writers have only begun to exploit the promising themes which Canadian life and society seem to offer. In a country which has endured the pains of two great wars and a depression, developing in those years the full strength and not escaping the emotional discords of national adolescence, emerging as an individual among nations, often distracted (one may add) in serious-minded youth by the giddy enticements of living right next door to the Greatest Show on Earth—in a country at this stage in its life-history and, furthermore, enlivened by racial and regional diversity, imaginative writers should be able to find a social context of unusual interest for literary background and setting. Yet surprisingly little use has been made of the contemporary social scene. In almost any year Canadian novelists devote more effort to the reanimation of the embalmed past than to the understanding and interpretation of the activities of the present. Sometimes it hardly seems worth while.

Nothing very revolutionary happened in our fiction in 1945, but it is perhaps remarkable that four of the twelve novels upon which I shall have to comment were concerned in one way or another with the relationship between French-speaking and English-speaking Canada. One would expect this to be a dominant theme in our literature as it is in our national life. Yet in the ten years since these surveys began, no novelist has done more than merely glance at the subject, and few have done even that. To be sure there have been stories of Quebec written in English, sympathetic

studies of the folk-ways of a picturesque region, but no serious attempts to bring together representatives of the two cultures within the limits of one fictional pattern or to demonstrate the sort of thing that may happen when Canadian meets *Canadien*. Apparently it took five years of war and inter-provincial debate to call literary attention to the obvious.

The most extensive treatment of this neglected theme is in Hugh MacLennan's *Two Solitudes*. It is the history of two groups of Canadians, one French, the other English, from the time when they make contact in 1917 until 1939, from the midst of one war to the beginning of the next—though a good half of the novel is given to the first two years, indeed with so disproportionate a concentration that the plot threatens to fall apart in the middle, leaving the account of the last twenty years as a long, discursive epilogue to the earlier story. In 1917, Athanase Tallard, the seigneur of Saint-Marc-des-Erables and a Member of Parliament, strikes up a friendship with John Yardley, a Nova Scotian ship-captain recently invalided out of the merchant service, who buys the adjoining farm, to the surprise of the whole parish. Both men are in reaction against the narrowness of their own people. Yardley, an independent and gamy old fellow, cannot stand his superior daughter, Mrs. Methuen, who has married into wealth, society, and prejudice in Montreal, and he takes up farming among the peasants for the double satisfaction of avoiding her company and shocking her sensibilities. Tallard, privately an anti-clerical and a sceptic, who has hitherto avoided any open quarrel with his local co-authority, Father Beaubien, soon rouses the priest to resolute opposition first by failing to prevent the sale of Catholic land to Yardley and then by negotiating for the development of water-power with the formidable Montreal financier, Huntley McQueen, a friend of the Methuens, who would introduce the fearful monster of Protestant capitalism into this hitherto inviolable and uncorrupted parish. The main conflict in the first half of the novel is between the common ideals of the Counter-Reformation and Quebec nationalism represented by the priest and Tallard's fanatically provincial son, Marius, and on the other hand the liberalism of Tallard, really a belated intellectual product of the Age of the Enlightenment, in uneasy alliance with expansive economic materialism represented by McQueen. Eventually Tallard in anger breaks with the Church, only to find himself repudiated by his constituents, abandoned by his very servants, and cynically discarded by St. James Street as of no further use. Apparently it is next to impossible for a French liberal (small l, please) to survive in Quebec.

In the second half of the novel, Tallard continues to wander between two worlds, his social deracination affecting also his younger son, Paul, who is brought up to be alternately English and French, Protestant and Roman Catholic. Here the main theme, slowly developed, is the love between Paul and Yardley's grand-daughter, Heather Methuen. Each escapes intellectually into a larger region than Saint-Marc or Montreal:

Heather in literature and painting finds a means of freeing herself from her mother's simple code of values; Paul, after Oxford and years of wandering abroad, returns to write the great novel about life in Canada, a book presumably not unlike this one. In mutual respect and individual integrity they find (to use the words of Rilke) that "love consists in this, that two solitudes protect, and touch, and greet each other." A correspondingly discreet marriage is, no doubt, enjoined on the two Canadian peoples.

Two Solitudes is the most impressive book that comes within my range this year. It is not surprising that it has had a wide sale. The general theme of the meeting of the two cultures is excellent. A few of the characters who represent conflicting views, especially Father Beaubien and McQueen, are large creations of the symbolic imagination. Marius Tallard is a memorable study of the embittered young man, living on futile hate until he is of no use even to his political associates, though I found it hard to believe in the event which was supposed to have roused his first antagonism against his father. Athanase Tallard also is a pathetic figure, lonely in his independence, trying to find middle ground but joined there by no one, thrown into confusion past all resolution by the sudden collapse of his little feudal world, and failing to win any compensating respect or power from the cool, unfaltering exploiters in Montreal. Quite as notable as these imaginative creations is the author's comment on them; indeed their interest depends more often on what he has to say about them than on what they do or say themselves. Huntley McQueen is uninteresting in word or action, but the memory lingers in amusement over the descriptions of that magnate in his office and in his bedroom, or of the circumspect masters of the Canadian economy crowded into one elevator for a few minutes each morning. Mr. MacLennan has a mordant wit that often conveys a sense of amused contempt.

Yet in other ways *Two Solitudes* is a disappointing book after the promise of *Barometer Rising*. I have already referred to the broken plot-structure: the change in theme, density, and tempo in the second half of the volume almost makes it seem like a separate novel. Moreover, some important strands in the fictional fabric are left at loose ends. The question of the industrializing of Saint-Marc which is central in the first third of the book is quietly dropped before the expected crisis. Later we are told briefly that the project was carried through, but this supposedly critical event is without influence on the rest of the story. Likewise, the casual adultery when Dennis Morey and Mme Tallard meet in Montreal is perfectly inconsequential. Morey is never mentioned before or after this occasion and even the author tells us that the incident had no effect whatever on character or action. (However, it probably had its effect on the sales.) One may also be in doubt as to what fictional purpose is served by the brief appearance of Heather's poisonous brother-in-law. These flaws or obscurities in design would matter less if we could be more certain about the author's motivating ideas and general intention. What are his best views

on the Canadian situation? We know what Father Beaubien and Marius Tallard advocate; we can guess the opinions of Huntley McQueen and Mrs. Methuen. But who is wiser than these irreconcilables; who has something sane and positive to say, something to which the author himself might subscribe? Now Paul Tallard, who knew the best of both cultures, must be the favoured character and his projected novel the means of communicating his best thoughts. In Chapter 45 he finally sees the light: he will write about Canada, a divided nation which he finally understands for he has lived the life of both peoples. He sets to work on the subject with enthusiasm. "He knew that he was at last beating out a harmony." Individual Canadians can get on together, though the two groups are hostile. Then follows the last sentence, the anticipated "harmony," a sentence (it seems to me) in which the rhetoric fails to hide the scarcity of positive ideas, the dubious logic, and the absence of any real harmony: "And the result of these two group-legends was a Canada oddly naive, so far without any real villains, without overt cruelty or criminal memories, a country strangely innocent in its groping individual common sense, intent on doing the right thing in the way some children are, tongue-tied because it felt others would not be interested in what it had to say; loyal, skilled and proud, race-memories lonely in great spaces." The statement is a trifle disappointing as the core of ideas for a great novel of reconciliation. And we get nothing more illuminating from Paul or from his creator. *Two Solitudes* is a novel of many fine peripheral qualities but it seems empty at the centre.

The other books in which the two principal Canadian peoples meet may be considered more briefly. They are *All This Difference* by Dorothy Dumbrille, *Her Own People* by Grace Tomkinson and *The Happy Time* by Robert Fontaine.

Dorothy Dumbrille takes up the political question at the point where Mr. MacLennan discreetly dropped it, at the outbreak of the Second World War. Yet this is a placid book, for the scene is Glengarry where the two races have got on together remarkably well for a century and a half and can be expected to live in mutual goodwill even during a war. The tensions are local and not very serious. When Wencie MacMillan falls in love with Raoul Flaubert she is not bothered by questions of religion, language or social propriety, for love conquers all, but when he hesitates to enlist and argues the point she balks at marrying him. However he does the right thing at last, and then the day before he is to join the army proves his courage in another way and is drowned, leaving Wencie with her pretty head full of sweet sad thoughts about the need of understanding between the two races. *All This Difference* is a moderately successful representation of life in a secluded village disturbed by great external forces, but the conclusions reached on the national question go little beyond the hope that the Glengarry *entente* may one day be extended to all Canada.

In Grace Tomkinson's *Her Own People* there is still less racial antagonism, this time in New Brunswick forty years ago. Rosalie, who has been brought up by English-speaking foster-parents, at the age of seventeen returns to her own family in a neighbouring French community. She becomes a centre of awareness of the difference in two ways of life as well as the heroine of the fiction. Her private problem is to choose between the handsome and predatory school-teacher, Talmadge, and the less sensational and very patient Laurent, but at last and with some regret she makes the inevitable decision. Plot and characterization are slight in this book, but the description is often lively and amusing, as, for example, the comparative delineation of the artistic tastes and social manners of the two peoples.

The Happy Time, by Robert Fontaine, is the most frivolous of these four books. It is a kind of cater-cousin to *Life with Father*. Boyhood in Ottawa was indeed the happy time for Mr. Fontaine's hero, for the old folks were all (to coin a phrase) as mad as March hares. Uncle Louis sipped *vin blanc* continuously for he feared that he would die of a butterfly-bite; Uncle Desmonde was making a remarkable collection of ladies' garters; Grandpa's chief weakness was for blondes of about fifty. With such relatives it was inevitable that a boy should learn a great deal. This was, of course, the French side of the family, Father's side. Mother was Presbyterian and did her best (which was not much) to bring the boy up in the way he should go. The book consists of two dozen stories about Mother and these addle-pated zanies. The mood is one of farcical or sly fantasy. We are told nothing really credible about youth or the relationship of the Canadian peoples, but what an invaluable family and upbringing for a future Simon and Schuster humourist!

* * * * *

More serious than any of these books as an attempt to interpret great public issues of our time is *Day of Wrath* by my colleague, Philip Child. Professor Roy Daniells, of the University of Manitoba, has kindly undertaken to contribute a review:

"This is the story of Simon Froben, a Jew living in the Third Reich. His efforts to make a life for himself and to achieve human decency amid the squalors and brutalities of Hitler's Germany are fully delineated. We follow the course of his love for the girl Anna, who is a Christian with Jewish blood in her veins. The narrow circumstances and grinding poverty of their existence are bad enough, but worse is to follow when the Storm Trooper Froehlich casts his one bold stare upon her. Simon escapes from a concentration camp and returns to find that Anna has leaped to her death from the Adolf Hitler Bridge, after the loss of their child. The town is raided by bombers and in the confusion Simon kills Froehlich, but this brings him no satisfaction. He is able, however, to save a Gentile child from the wreckage of an orphanage and dies at peace with himself when, immediately afterwards, he is shot by Storm Troopers.

"These bones of the story are clothed with the author's pity and indignation, with his moral ardour and his idealistic hope for mankind. Simon Froben is a humanist, a lover of green trees and quiet places, of reasonableness, decency and fellowship. He is both sensitive and passionate, with the patience and tenacity of his Jewish inheritance. The author's sympathy with the hero is complete and a striving idealism shines out from every page. The book is valuable for its sincerity—a sincere hatred of violence and brutality and of the subtler but no less deadly denials of liberty; a sincere belief in the possibilities of human nature and the progress of the spirit. 'If,' says Simon Froben, 'a man could do one thing, just one thing, greater than himself. If a man could take his soul in his hands and say, "No matter what becomes of me now and forever, *this* will I do". '

"Unfortunately, the creator of a work of art must possess more than one kind of sincerity. It is not enough for him to be faithful to his ideal of life: he must compel his words to be faithful to his intention. In this latter and far more rare and difficult sincerity the author of *Day of Wrath* is deficient. Henry James, in his admirable little story entitled 'The Real Thing,' has presented the idea of the artist's double sincerity, in symbol. He relates the experience of a painter who tries to use the services of two genuine members of the aristocracy as a pair of models. They turn out to be inferior to an Italian stroller and a freckled cockney girl who can look like aristocrats, or indeed anything else desired, at a moment's notice. The real thing in one sense of the word is not always so in another.

"*Day of Wrath* suffers from a style too general and formal for its subject. Neither the German scene nor the moral struggle of the characters comes sharply enough through the veil of the words; and the dialogue seldom brings us unmistakably into the presence of the speakers. Furthermore, neither the individual episode nor the plot as a whole is artfully enough constructed to compel a willing suspension of disbelief. Through gaps in the charmed circle bounding the work of art, something that would have convinced and enchanted us has escaped, some untransformed elements from the outside world have got in.

"These objections, though valid, are somewhat graceless. One cannot but be glad the book was written, glad to see it in the cycle of Canadian novels, certain that the faith and insight it displays will not be lost."

* * * * *

Here Stays Good Yorkshire, by Will R. Bird, which shared the "Ryerson Fiction Award" with *Day of Wrath*, is the story of the Crabtree family and their neighbours who emigrated in 1772 from Yorkshire to Chegnecto County, Nova Scotia, just in time to become involved unwillingly in the "gov'ment trouble" of the next few years. They were a vigorous and independent tribe, capable of taking all the difficulties of frontier life in their stride, yet preferring to keep to themselves and ignore the menace of Micmacs and Cajuns and the rival patriotic allurements of King's men from Halifax and liberty-boys from Boston. As one of the Crabtrees

remarked, speaking for all new Yorkshire: "We have nowt to do wi' ony." They did, however, have a lot to do with one another: their impulsive, but generally happy, love-affairs and their troubles with two less dependable brothers are more important in the story than any large historical happenings. But the general theme, beyond the numerous events and characters and imposing at least a modal unity on the book, is the Yorkshireman, changing his skies but not his mind. This is a sympathetic, amusing, often rich-spoken book about a self-reliant group of pioneers among whom Mr. Bird is proud to number his own ancestors.

The other two historical novels are on old tried-and-true subjects: the early years of the Glengarry settlement and the rebellion of 1837. *The Shadow of Tradition* might more accurately be called "The Shadow of a Superstition." Miss MacGillivray's central theme is the continuing misfortune of one family, reputedly the victims of an ancient curse, against the background of the Highland emigrations of the seventeen-eighties, the coming of the Scottish loyalists from the American colonies to Glengarry, the fur-trade of the North-West, and finally the campaign for the defence of the St. Lawrence frontier in the War of 1812-15. In spite of the title, folk-beliefs and character seem to be of much less interest to the author than adventuresome actions. The former are shadowy and given perfunctory treatment; the latter are often clearly realized in simple, yet adequate descriptions. Violet King, in *Better Harvest*, has also achieved only partial success. Her intended theme is, presumably, the rebellion of 1837 from the point of view of a pioneer family settled on a farm near Toronto. But, as often happens with women writers, the narrow domestic issues tend to crowd out the wider public ones. The result here is a fairly vivid imaginative exposition of what it must have been like trying to keep house and bring up children in a log cabin in the woods, a day's journey from the stores, and with the men always pommelling each other over politics. Miss King undoubtedly knows what the fighting was about, but her heroine, from whose point of view we are expected to watch most of the action, seems to think of it chiefly as a perverse and unpleasant disturbance of an otherwise orderly and satisfying domestic life.

* * * * *

Darkly the River Flows, by John Macdonald, though unvexed by war and political antagonism, is a far more turbulent book than *Better Harvest* and in a strange way the most passionate Canadian novel of recent years. Steel Brand, son of a successful and cold-blooded mining promoter in Toronto, has inherited his father's chilly and aloof disposition; the other son, Hector, has been embittered and warped by the early memory of his late mother's unhappy relations with her husband. The mutual subconscious hatred of the brothers sometimes boils to the surface: when they get rifles in their hands, either in boyish games or years later when duck-hunting, they end up by trying to kill each other. They are equally grim and violent toward their wives: Steel insists for years on passing off his

egregiously beautiful and dumb spouse as his mistress, promising her that if she ventures to wear a wedding-ring he will "tear her fingers off"; and Hector, in pious imitation of an adventure at his parents' first meeting, and as a curious post-nuptial rite, takes his unsuspecting bride canoeing by night through a particularly torrential northern rapids from which she emerges half-drowned and very indignant. This writhing serpents' nest of tangled emotion is occasionally viewed and considered from without by a cousin who is a rather dim person but is at least detached. The time of the novel is the nineteen-thirties and there are perhaps a dozen persons frequently mentioned in addition to those to whom I have referred. This secondary group is used to convey the impression of a time when, even in country-club and Junior League society, the young people feel painfully insecure and apprehensive about the future, a mood which pervades Morley Callaghan's treatment of a lower economic class in the same period. But *Darkly the River Flows* can hardly be considered a novel of social interpretation. Most of the author's energy flows in another direction. It is a novel of emotional storm and stress, of vehement abstract feeling too strong for the critical intelligence to control and subdue. One looks forward to the time when in a second novel the dark river may be channelled and put to more humane use.

Three romantic tales in which the common and the extraordinary meet may be mentioned briefly. They are *Turf Smoke* by John Coulter, *Now and Forever* by Mary V. Jordon and *A Voice is Calling* by Eric Cecil Morris.

Turf Smoke is a mildly amusing story about a lazy Irishman, the janitor of a New York apartment house, who leaves all the work to his children while he basks in the sun. The extraordinary feature is that he does his basking high among the towers of Manhattan, at the door of a shabby penthouse that he has made to look as much like an Irish cottage as possible, with rabbits and hens about him but, for some strange reason, no pigs. Barney almost gets evicted by an unsympathetic rental-agent; he makes some money without enthusiasm but without undue effort as a radio philosopher; and very little else happens. I suppose this is the kind of book which is called light summer reading. Equally mild but much more edifying is *Now and Forever*, about a girl who is brought up in a convent-school in Montreal. Her father was not a Christian and she was so spiteful at first as to put ink in the holy water, but the nuns were very kind and she eventually took the first vows herself. But it was decided that she could do more good in the world by marrying and converting the young doctor who had been watching her religious career hopelessly. Her more extraordinary experiences include extinguishing a three-alarm fire that threatened her convent by throwing a relic into the blaze, and hiding out on an island of the South Pacific after the Japanese invasion. This is an immaculately nice book, the kind of book that L. M. Montgomery might have written if her religious background had been different. As for *A Voice is Calling*, it is about an incredibly dull little French-Canadian clerk with a wicked

boss, a faithless wife, and a passion for the music of J. S. Bach, who arrives one day and carries him off to eighteenth-century Leipzig where he falls in love with Katharina Bach, though he very honourably explains to her that he is already married, that is to say he will be in 1940. The little clerk keeps commuting back and forth between the Bach household and his own, with a notable excursion to Montreal where with the master at his elbow he plays beautifully before the Casavant Society. If this fantasy was intended to be lively and diverting it has not been successful.

Apparently the only detective-story of the year was by Margaret Millar, who seems once more to have the Canadian field all to herself. *The Iron Gates* is a rather better written book than her previous five and at least as plausible. The question is, what drove Lucille Morrow mad with fear? The scene is again Toronto, a place which the author regularly portrays as a City of Dreadful Night, where any sensitive person might well be scared out of her wits. It seemed to me that there were gaps in the plot much wider than those iron gates, but nobody seems to mind that in crime-fiction.

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Finally, I have to report the publication of two volumes of short stories: *So Near is Grandeur* by Leslie Gordon Barnard, and *Tambour, and Other Stories* by Thomas H. Raddall. Mr. Barnard's stories, most of which have already been published in such magazines as *Strand*, *Collier's*, the *Canadian Home Journal*, and the *Family Herald and Weekly Star*, seem to me to have been stripped down to suit the simplest taste with a result that, although they undoubtedly made pleasant occasional reading on their appearance in the magazines, they are too slight and too similar to stand the test of consecutive reading in a volume. The mood is usually mildly sentimental and moral, the theme, the manners and half-realized feelings of undistinguished people, and the common contention, that, in spite of the evidence, they come near to grandeur. Mr. Raddall's book is more lively and varied, the scene being usually the Maritimes. The range may be suggested by brief reference to a few of the stories. "Tambour" is an account of life during the First Great War on a little fog-wrapped island where the radio-operators feel at once apart from and in the midst of the warfare at sea. "Reunion at Grand Pré" amusingly describes a determined party of American school-teachers doing the Evangeline country. "Powers of Darkness" is a backwoods mystery-story with no villain but native superstition. "Bald Eagle," about a Cockney who turned American Indian and rose to incredible heights of popular fame as a poet and spokesman for the noble savage, although very entertaining, shows that the most absurd fiction may sometimes be outdone by the truth. These are tales without any subtlety of style or technique, unusual but within the range of probability, made vivid by the adequate use of description and dialect speech, and told with verve and the assured manner of a person who might have been there and seen it all. Finally one must note a charming new edition

of Duncan Campbell Scott's *In the Village of Viger* (1896). In the fifty years since this small collection of stories first appeared, we have had no more graceful and sympathetic delineation of life in the quiet backwaters of Quebec.

CHECK-LIST OF TITLES

Barnard (L. G.), So near is grandeur (Toronto, Macmillan, 207 pp., $3.00). **Bilsky (Eva)**, Tuck-a-bed tales (Montreal, Mercury Press, 48 pp., $1.50). **Bonner (M. G.)**, Surprise place; ill. by *Lois Lenski (New York, Knopf; Toronto, Ryerson, 119 pp., $2.50). **Bird (W. R.)**, Here stays good Yorkshire (Toronto, Ryerson, xvi, 332 pp., $3.00). **Child (Philip)**, Day of wrath (Toronto, Ryerson, 274 pp., $3.00). **Coulter (John)**, Turf smoke: a fable of two countries (Toronto, Ryerson, vi, 188 pp., $2.00). **Cropp (M. E.)**, Tremendous adventure of the peace fairy (Regina, School Aids and Text Book Publishing Co.; Toronto, Moyer School Supplies, 75c.). **Darby (Ray)** and **Phillips (John)**, Adventures of glen alan (Regina, School Aids and Text Book Publishing Co.; Toronto, Moyer School Supplies, [44] pp., 75c.); Oomah (Winnipeg, Contemporary Publishers, [40] pp., 25c.); Peter Smith and the skypeople (Regina, School Aids and Text Book Publishing Co.; Toronto, Moyer School Supplies [41] pp., 75c. soft, $1.25 hard). **Dumbrille (Dorothy)**, All this difference (Toronto, Progress Books, 208 pp., $3.25). **Fontaine (Robert)**, The happy time (New York, Simon and Schuster; Toronto, Musson, x, 172 pp., $3.00). ***Gaggin (E. R.)**, All those buckles; ill. by *Mildred Cloete (New York, Viking Press; Toronto, Macmillan, 250 pp., $2.50). **Jordan (M. V.)**, Now and forever (Milwaukee, Wisc., Bruce Publishing Co.; Toronto, Ryerson, 240 pp., $2.50). **King (Violet)**, Better harvest (Toronto and Vancouver, Dent; Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, viii, 366 pp., $2.75). **Macdonald (John)**, Darkly the river flows: a novel of family life (Toronto, Longmans Green, vi, 201 pp., $3.00). **MacGillivray (C. H.)**, Shadow of tradition: a tale of old Glengarry (Ottawa, Graphic Press, 1927; Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 327 pp., $2.75). **MacLennan (Hugh)**, Two solitudes (Toronto, Collins, 370 pp., $3.00). **Millar (Margaret)**, The iron gates: a psychological novel (New York and Toronto, Random House, 241 pp., $2.50). **Morris (E. C.)**, A voice is calling (Montreal, B. D. Simpson, 1427 Dorchester St. W., 487 pp., $3.00). **Raddall (T. H.)**, Tambour, and other stories (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 388 pp., $3.00). **Sinclair (Gordon)**, Bright paths to adventure (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 280 pp., $1.25). **Tomkinson (Grace)**, Her own people (New York, Ives Washburn; Toronto, Smithers and Bonellie, 248 pp., $3.25). **Wentforth (John)** *pseud.* for Philip Child, Blow wind—come wrack (London, Eng., Jarrolds Publishers; Toronto, Ryerson, 1944, $2.75; now out of print). **Wood (Kerry)**, Three mile bend (Toronto, Ryerson, viii, 170 pp., $2.50).

III. REMAINING MATERIAL — The Editor and Others

For purposes of this review the works considered are grouped under four headings: I. Narrative and Descriptive Writing, including Biography and Autobiography, to which are added some Essays (the Editor); II. Books on the War and non-technical studies of Conditions in the Post-War World, the year 1945 dividing almost equally between these two conditions of war and uneasy peace (Mr. Philip Child); III. Works of scholarship in the Social Sciences, a section unprecedentedly small as a result of the preoccupation of scholars in this field with war work (Professor A.

Brady); IV. Scholarship in the Humanities, Literary Criticism, Education, Religion (the Editor). As usual, we have had the generous aid of two or three specialists, notably Mr. Donald Buchanan and Mr. W. S. McCullough, whose contributions appear within quotation marks. Professor Frank Allen has contributed to this issue of the QUARTERLY a review of recent books on atomic energy, including one or two Canadian titles, to which the reader is referred; and of the books falling in section IV three are reserved for more detailed review in the July issue.

I

Three volumes of narrative and description can be distinguished as well above the average performance of this or former years. It is well that they should be named at once: Mrs. Nellie L. McClung's *The Stream Runs Fast*, Mrs. E. M. Richardson's *We Keep a Light*, and Tony Onraet's *Sixty Below*. Though totally dissimilar, each is autobiographical in substance; each has for its centre of interest the depiction of a phase of Canadian life; and each is well written—that is, has a style perfectly suited to its content, what Dryden called "a propriety of thoughts and words." It is surprising how rare this elementary virtue is in Canadian prose. Perhaps we may add a fourth book to the list, Mr. D. D. Calvin's *Saga of the St. Lawrence*, though it seems to us to fall below the high level of interest reached in *A Corner of Empire* (1937) and in his history of Queen's University (1941); and a fifth, Mrs. Sanders' *Emily Murphy, Crusader*.

The Stream Runs Fast is the second half of Mrs. McClung's autobiography. Like the first half, *Clearing in the West* (1935), it is a lucid and transparently honest book of considerable historical value. It lacks, of course, the fascination of its predecessor, indeed of any reasonably adequate account of pioneering days, but it enables us to recover the tone and temper of life in the West as observed and lived by an intelligent and public-spirited woman for the last half-century. The story starts in Manitou in 1896, and the first phase is domestic. Then follows Mrs. McClung's first essay in authorship, which has been after all but one of half-a-dozen interests in a busy and useful life. She never exaggerates the quality or importance of her own writing, but shows on this subject a disarming modesty grounded on a sense of fact and tempered by a sense of humour.

> I remember once in a discussion in a Canadian Authors' Convention . . . I took the position that no one should put pen to paper unless he or she had something to say that would amuse. . . , instruct. . . , comfort or guide the reader. I was assailed with particular vehemence by one of my fellow members who is a writer of novels. She cried out in disgust, "Who wants to write books for Sunday schools? I certainly do not." No doubt she was thinking of her art. I was able to assure her that her books were safe.

Through local institutions, the Methodist church and the W.C.T.U., Mrs. McClung was led into public activities, into the campaign for woman's rights and so, through an interest in social questions, into provincial politics, and finally onward and outward till she became one of the Canadian dele-

gates at a meeting of the League of Nations. This story, told with an admirable blend of personality and objectivity, forms a principal theme of the book. A fellow writer urged Mrs. McClung to be more introspective. Fortunately she resisted this thoroughly bad advice and followed her native bent, avoiding that pitfall of autobiography, the disagreeable impression of egoism. As in her earlier volumes, *Clearing in the West* and *Leaves from Lantern Lane*, Mrs. McClung's writing has the merit of complete adequacy to anything she has to say. She writes simply and never strains after effects that are beyond her powers or beyond the demands of her subject-matter. In this she might well prove exemplary to some Canadian writers of higher pretensions. She has a feeling for atmosphere (take the paragraph on the security of the prairie home amid the storm, ending with the sentence, "I knew what the Psalmist meant when he wrote, 'She is not afraid of the snow for her household'!") and some gift for satirical portraiture (take the chapter on her encounters with Sir Rodman Roblin). But the best feature of the book is its consistency and evenness of texture. It is the faithful record of a life and a creed. The creed is certainly not without its cultural limitations, but it has set its mark on much of Canadian history, and one understands it the better for having it brought to a focus in this account of a busy, useful and yet, in some ways, quite ordinary life.

Similar in interest are the biographies of two women, friends of Mrs. McClung's, and champions of woman's rights, whose lives of service and achievement are eminently deserving of record. *Brave Harvest*, by Kennethe M. Haig, is the story of E. Cora Hind, who came to Winnipeg from Ontario in 1882, of her successful struggle against adverse circumstances, of her business career, her attainment at last to a place on the *Winnipeg Free Press* and her recognized position as one of the leading experts on agriculture in Western Canada and indeed among the journalists of the world. If slightly over-dramatized, the story is well told, especially in the chapters on Miss Hind's girlhood in Ontario and the early days of struggle in Winnipeg. Superior as biography, however, and more informative, is the second book, *Emily Murphy, Crusader* by Byrne Hope Sanders, with a foreword by Mrs. McClung. Here the material was more abundant; for Mrs. Murphy, who published a great deal under the pseudonym "Janey Canuck," also left many letters, memoranda, and unfinished pieces. It is in reference to this fact that Mrs. Sanders says, "Emily Murphy wrote this book herself," which is being too modest. Unlike Mrs. McClung and Miss Hind, Mrs. Murphy came from an Anglican stock and environment. But the Canadian West tends to level out, without wholly obliterating, such distinctions, and like them, indeed to an even greater extent, she threw herself into active social effort, combining writing with action and putting her powers of expression at the service of good causes. The abundant vitality, the zest in the life she lived as a parson's wife, traveller, champion of woman's rights, and stipendiary magistrate of Edmonton, her realism tempered by

humour and kindness: these things are clearly brought out in Mrs. Sanders' readable volume.

Beside Mrs. McClung's, two other volumes of reminiscences seem utterly disjointed and superficial. Viscountess Byng's associations with Canada go back to 1878, and *Up the Stream of Time* was written when, over sixty years later, she was a war refugee in this country. Truth compels us to say that it is a very disappointing book which makes us regret the less the life of her distinguished husband which she did not write. *Up the Stream of Time* has a few not uninteresting passages on a Victorian childhood and on notable figures whom Lady Byng knew, including Queen Victoria and Kitchener, but her response to all her varied experiences strikes the reader as dreadfully deficient in both thought and feeling. A similar deficiency is the most striking feature of *Ploughman of the Moon*, the autobiography of Robert W. Service.

No one who has read Mr. Service's verse will be surprised that some degree of hardness, shallowness and vulgarity should reappear in his effort of self-portraiture. But there is also a radical insincerity: Mr. Service has adopted realism—honesty and the absence of illusions—as his "line," and the result is that we never get below an artificially hardened surface. Not without vividness, he depicts his early surroundings in Scotland. He has some flair for exterior portraiture, as is seen in the sketches of his grandfather and aunts and in the frankly burlesqued picture of his preposterous father. Then he takes us through his early enthusiasms for athletics, socialism, literature, the stage and the music-halls. The pages have some interest as social history, but if there is to be any insight it must be supplied by the reader. As autobiography they are unsuccessful because one gets no clear sense of the unifying personality to which the experiences occur. Mr. Service is content to portray himself as a very disagreeable young egoist, cynic and *poseur*, with but one sincere passion: the determination to be free, free from duties, from affections, and from labour. The defects of these early chapters are the defects of the whole book. The scenes and themes change: the steerage of an Atlantic liner—trip across the continent—tramping in the West as far south as Los Angeles—strange encounters with all sorts of people—entrance to the Northland—the life there—the lucky strike, not in gold but in authorship, with the astonishing popular success that followed; but always there is the same lack of sympathy, of insight, the same sense (for all we are told or can infer) of a hard surface and hollowness at the core.

This is not the place to revert to the phenomenon of Mr. Service's popular triumph as a versifier, but the historian of Canadian letters will find some interest in the account which he gives of his early reading (the Romantics, Tennyson, Browning, of course Burns, Tom Hood, Owen Meredith and, significant for Service's interest in verse forms and techniques, Austin Dobson) and of his first attempts at writing. "Rhyming," he says, "has my ruin been. With less deftness I might have produced real poetry."

We quote as characteristic this thoughtless and conventional remark. But to proceed:

> One day I met my slum-school classmate Jimmy. . . . He had just discovered the music-hall. He sang songs from the repertoires of Bessie Bellwood and Marie Lloyd and infected me with his enthusiasm. . . . It was Jimmy who first mentioned the name of Kipling to me, quoting some of his verses. . . . The result of this visit was that I went to the music-hall and found it more harmless than I had hoped. Hearing a girl sing *After the Ball*, I wrote a parody called *Under the Mould:*
>
> After the fight is over,
> After the strife is done,
> After the bells are peeling
> After the triumph won;
> What is life's sum of glory
> When all the tale is told?—
> A shroud and a feast for the blindworm
> UNDER THE MOULD.

This *is* dexterous for sixteen. "I fancy I owe something to my education in vaudeville," says Mr. Service. "Its rum-tum, rumtittytum inspired some of my verses, and when I played at song-composing it was in the tempo of the old-fashioned music-hall." For years before his interest and talent were reawakened by the new subject-matter of the Yukon Mr. Service had abandoned verse altogether. Then, as it would appear, almost by accident, the well was reopened and the waters gushed out with a volume and speed which were remarkable.

The Northland is one of the few subjects indigenous to Canadian letters, and no one will deny that Mr. Service has made his contribution to, and holds his place in, the depiction of the North. His productions may claim no great merit as literature, but they, and the fact of their phenomenal popularity in Canada and beyond, serve to document the spirit of a region and of a period. And for all this the later chapters of the autobiography provide some further background. Mr. Service's Northland is that of forty years ago. The Northland up-to-date is depicted in *Hitch-hiking the Alaska Highway*, by Gertrude Baskine. Having already motored from Cadiz to Constantinople, flown over South America, and sailed in a thirty-foot schooner from Florida to Cuba, Mrs. Baskine heard that persons with no conceivable business there, and especially women, were not allowed to get in the way on the famous Alcan road, still under construction. So accepting the challenge she went there. The result is a story of some interest and a fairly vivid description of life on the Highway in three hundred pages of reasonably good journalistic writing.

Life and adventure in a yet more primitive Northland form the subject of Tony Onraet's *Sixty Below*. The author was caught in the depression and wandered over half a continent in quest of work and the means of subsistence. After twenty pages of rapid narrative he is camped beside the Peace River waiting till the ice goes out, in order to embark with one companion in home-made canoe and skiff on the long voyage to the Mackenzie

and down that mighty river to Great Bear Lake. The account of the voyage is the central and best part of the book. The search for pitchblende was unavailing, but Tony became an expert trapper and made the North his home—until another adventure called, in Europe and with Hitler in the villain's role, and then he took the Northland with him in his memory and affections. Dr. Thomas Wood explains how the book came to be written. In 1937, when he was a member of Lord Tweedsmuir's party, Dr. Wood met Tony at Cameron Bay.

> Out of that chance meeting sprang a lasting friendship, and years later, in England, came this book. . . . Tony wrote on, sending for approval great wads of foolscap covered with unparagraphed long-hand, with the hope that this bunch was O.K. I added a stop or two, gingerly, got some shape into that breathless torrent of words, and gave him my views on prose. Tony is a French-Canadian; his native tongue is Canadian-French; the English that he speaks is crisp, vivid, terse, exact; the English that he writes can be woolly. But all I did in sum was little. This book is Tony's own.

We will not try to divide the honours. Enough that the result is a very good book indeed, with Tony's speech restored to its native vividness and crisp exactitude, Tony's adventures inviting us to join him in imagination, and Tony's unifying personality and simple, unpretentious scale of values clearly, consistently and attractively revealed.

Plowing the Arctic, by G. J. Tranter, is a detailed account of the voyage made by the R.C.M.P. eighty-ton schooner *St. Roch* from Vancouver through the North-West Passage to Halifax. The tiny *St. Roch*, with her crew of seven, under the command of Sergeant Henry Larsen, took twenty-eight months to perform her hazardous trip, the first Canadian vessel to navigate the Passage, and the first vessel of any nation to sail through it from west to east. Miss Tranter's book is an imaginative reconstruction, based on Sergeant Larsen's notes and on his reminiscences and his crew's. It is not an inspired work, but it is a skilful piece of reporting which makes entertaining reading, and informative also, for many pages go to the life and mentality of the Eskimo as Sergeant Larsen observed them.

Simple reporting without any effort at imaginative reconstruction is the staple of J. W. Horan's *On the Side of the Law*, a biography of J. D. Nicholson, based largely on the subject's reminiscences. Commencing life as a fisherman and sailor on the Atlantic seaboard, Mr. Nicholson joined the North-West Mounted Police on the news of Riel's rebellion in 1885, and from that point onward, as a member of the Mounted Police or later of the Alberta Provincial Police, he had a hand in many notorious criminal cases, whose facts are recounted in succeeding chapters of Mr. Horan's volume. But he also made voyages into Hudson Bay, and for three years was stationed there, when he used his opportunities to observe Eskimo life. The book is valuable as a record of specimen activities of the R.C.M.P., but one feels that the author has not made the most of his interesting material. The presentation is deficient in literary skill, and at some points the narrative lacks the elementary virtues of clarity and emphasis.

One of the stories told by Mr. Horan is of the escape of Ernest Cashel from the gaol at Calgary in 1903; and the incident, because it is "now a folk-tale in southern Alberta," also finds a place in Robert E. Gard's *Johnny Chinook*, where it is more lucidly and effectively presented. This collection of "tall tales and true from the Canadian West" was made by an American who came to Alberta to conduct a "Folklore and Local History Project," financed by the Rockefeller Foundation, whose aim appears to have been to collect stories that passed current in the province, give them dramatic form and have them produced by local drama groups. *Johnny Chinook* presents some of this same material as narrative, together with anything else that the author has been able to pick up, from Indian legends to humorous episodes in the lives of Bob Edwards of the *Eye Opener* and other Albertan characters. The book is neither better nor worse than the exceedingly miscellaneous material that goes to its making.

A similar judgment may be given of *The Castle Buck*, by Phil H. Moore, also an American, which is a collection of stories, more personal in origin, whose scene is the hunting-grounds of Nova Scotia. The two books make an interesting contrast in one respect. The Eastern volume has little of humour and a good deal of sentiment; the Western, some humour of a rollicking kind (not all of which survives transference to the printed page) and a complete absence of sentiment. In other words, each is true to type or to the conventions. *The Castle Buck* touches, as the title-story suggests, the tradition of the animal tale, but Mr. Moore's animals remain commendably animal and the sentiment stops short of sentimentality. So much cannot be said of *The Loghouse Nest*, by Louise de Kiriline. A genuine love of the wilds and their bird life, coupled with a lively and quite uninhibited imagination, prompts the authoress to bestow a conscious life and human emotions not only on Peet the black-capped chickadee and his fellows, but even on the old lightning-riven pine, which is made to carry on lengthy conversations with Peet. This is rather trying, but worse is to follow, when Peet becomes a father. Left in charge of the nest, he is forbidden by chickadee tradition to look at the young ones. "So there he sat patiently watching and waiting, even if his heart was all but breaking at the thought of the pathetic helplessness of his new-born offspring blindly asleep within the nesting stump." When she can bring herself to forgo these flights (and she never can for more than a page or two at a time) and simply describe with fidelity, Mrs. de Kiriline shows her powers of observation and some command of language. The book is pleasantly illustrated by Thoreau MacDonald with drawings that combine truth, animation and pattern.

Greenhorns in Blue Pastures, by Harold R. W. Cox, is based on fact. It narrates the adventures of four persons, the author, his wife and her parents, when they leave the security of a tea-house near Victoria to seek a livelihood on one of the smaller islands. The narrative moves lightly; the conversations are sometimes amusing, and the descriptions are fairly vivid.

The intrusion of an element of fiction, together with a slightly forced air of gaiety and sophistication, robs the book of some of its value as an authentic record; but it makes quite entertaining reading. Authenticity, on the other hand, is the very note of the record of life on an island just off the coast of Nova Scotia, which is the subject of Mrs. E. M. Richardson's *We Keep a Light*. It tells of her experiences there with her husband and their three children, and their very successful effort to build a life for themselves in spite of poverty and in spite, and partly because, of isolation. Mrs. Richardson writes really well, though a little too much. She avoids the temptation to dramatize—at least to over-dramatize—the situations which she presents; she is blessed with good sense and a natural tact; but the book would have been improved by some compression or excision. We think, however, that it certainly deserves the recognition which it has received. Family life in very different surroundings, with all the appurtenances of books, pictures, records, is the theme of *Bequest of Wings* by Annis Duff. Unlike Mrs. Richardson's volume, this has no thread of narrative, and no substratum of the unusual, to sustain the reader's interest; and it is unmistakably over-written. To parents intent on the problem of cultivating the imagination and emotions of their offspring, Mrs. Duff's book, with its check-lists of children's literature, collections of pictures, etc., may well prove very useful; but to the general reader the text will often seem jejune and tiresome.

There are four books of regional history and topography.

Lake Ontario, by Arthur Pound, is the work of an American, but requires mention here on account of the area which it treats, and for the sake of a word of comparison with Professor Fred Landon's *Lake Huron* (1944). Like that work it falls into two sections, the historical and the topographical, but a much larger proportion is given to the continuous chronicle of the events, military, political and commercial, which transpired in the region. This narrative is based perhaps on less first-hand research than Professor Landon's, but it is lucid and informed by a few sensible leading ideas. The emphasis on chronicle, which occupies nearly two-thirds of the volume, is bought at the expense of some curtailment of the topographical survey and the exclusion of two sections which add to the attractiveness of Professor Landon's book, that on early travellers on the lake and that on the history of shipping, sections for which abundant material, of great interest, no doubt exists. The topographical section of Mr. Pound's work is not much shorter than in Professor Landon's, but while the distance to be covered is much shorter and the shore-line much less complicated, the industrial development (with Detroit excluded as it is from Landon's survey) is incomparably more important, and the pages devoted to the centres of population appear rather meagre as a result. Two cities get short chapters to themselves, Rochester and Toronto, the former carrying more detail, as is perhaps not surprising in a book written by an American and primarily for Americans. In general, however, Canada has no reason to complain of

want of emphasis, sympathy or insight. One Canadian, who no doubt should have known these facts already, was surprised to learn that "ten per cent of Canada's total population reside within a ten-mile radius of the city's [Toronto's] heart; another million persons live within a second circle of 250 miles, and one-third of Canada's entire buying power is concentrated within 100 miles of Toronto's downtown district. Not even New York City has so large a proportion of a nation's buying power concentrated as tightly about it."

Grand River, by Mabel Dunham, attempts a somewhat similar task for the area in western Ontario, north of Lake Erie, drained by the Grand River. The book is carefully planned: the first part deals with the original inhabitants, the Indians; the second, with the history of the chief centres of white settlement, while the third surveys the life and achievement of these areas under appropriate headings—agriculture, industry, river control, "the fruits of leisure" (literature and the arts), etc. The brief bibliography consists mainly of secondary sources and on these the historical sections are principally based. The narrative style is lucid and agreeable. *A Saga of the St. Lawrence*, by D. D. Calvin, is much less ample in scope, being an excursion from family into regional economic history. It is admirable in its kind, based on original research, and presenting much detailed information of value to the historian; it is very competently written, as is everything that Mr. Calvin publishes, though it lacks the variety and the eloquence of *A Corner of Empire*, which (by the way) might well be reread as background for the narrower theme here treated. Clara Graham's *Fur and Gold in the Kootenays*, printed for the author, deals briefly with the topography of this district in British Columbia and with its primitive peoples, then in much more detail with the early travellers and explorers, David Thompson, Sir George Simpson and others, and finally with the explorers, prospectors and surveyors of a later day (1856-88) when interest in the district was stimulated by the quest for gold. The book, evidently a labour of love, makes a conscientious use of the printed primary material, as well as the secondary, listed in the bibliography. It is a good example of that laudable interest in the country's past which is, fortunately, not uncommon among Canadians with sufficient leisure to indulge it.

Another form of local history represented each year is that of the parish church or individual congregation. By means of such works is gradually amassed the detailed information regarding a subject of great importance in the cultural history of the Canadian past, the activities and influence of the leading denominations. This year adds histories of St. George's in Toronto, and of Talbot Street Baptist Church in London, Ontario. Of similar, though of very limited, value is the autobiographical memoir of Bishop Farthing of Montreal. For the following notice of a denominational history, *Lutherans in Canada* by V. J. Eylands, we are indebted to Professor T. J. Oleson.

"The history of many of the religious denominations in this country remains to be written. 'I found that nothing like a history of Canadian Lutheranism had been attempted,' writes Mr. Eylands. 'Each Synod and Conference of course had a great deal of material of historical value, but such information dealt with particular groups. . . .' He, therefore, attempted to bring this material together. This reviewer feels, however, that he might have presented a much more integrated picture of the Lutheran Church in Canada. As it is, he has devoted a chapter to each of eleven Lutheran church bodies, but has hardly attempted to give an over-all view. Each chapter is almost independent of the others. As might be expected, the section of his book dealing with his own Synod, the Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Synod in North America, is the best, and with one exception he devotes the greatest space to it. To those acquainted with the history of the Icelandic Synod, even this section may appear sketchy. It would have been worth while to discuss at greater length the role of the Synod in the preservation of the cultural heritage of the Icelanders. Indeed the chief defect of this history is that too much attention is given to trifling details—the struggles of individual congregations, the building and equipping of churches, etc.—and too little to the place of the Lutheran Church in the social history of Canada. Emphasis is placed on externals to the neglect of doctrinal and social questions. True the book opens with a section entitled 'The Doctrinal Background,' but it is so brief and general as to be of small value. The doctrinal differences among the various Synods receive virtually no treatment. The work is sadly deficient in documentation."

There are a few shorter pieces that deserve notice. The essay is a literary form which few Canadians practise. Perhaps they weary of it in school and university. Miss Mary Edith Cowan's *Rainbow of Life* turns out to be better than at first glance it appears. It is a series of little sketches, few of them more than a page in length, and each presenting a single incident or scene. Some are grave and suggest a reflection which may or may not be formulated; a few others, humorous. Unlike Mr. Clay, who provides a foreword, we are not very much impressed by their content, but rather by the sense of artistic form, and the (confessedly less constant) effectiveness of phrase, which many of the little essays reveal. Norman Smith's *J. F. B. Livesay: A Memory* is consciously or (more likely) unconsciously in the tradition of the old "character," that portrait in essay form, and is quite successful in illustrating a personality. Another effort in the same kind, and not less successful, is Barbara Nimmo's "Stephen Leacock," which appears as a preface to *Last Leaves*, a final collection of her uncle's essays. It admirably supplements with biographical and personal detail Professor Sedgewick's "character" of Leacock as a writer in the QUARTERLY for October, 1945.

Here we meet then, presumably for the last time in these surveys, the best of Canadian essayists in person. *Last Leaves* is a representative col-

lection, at least of the later Leacock. There is little of the undiluted whimsy of *Literary Lapses*, *Sunshine Sketches*, or *Moonbeams*, and that little not perhaps of first-rate quality. For the most part the essayist prefers to discourse of themes in themselves serious ("Common Sense and the Universe," "An Apology for the British Empire," the Gold Standard, and our relations with the United States), but cheerfulness will break through. He can get a laugh even out of the Gold Standard; and of course out of Science and the Empire. He comments on the disruptive influence of Crookes's discovery of X-rays on the ordered world of Victorian Science: "The British Government knighted him at once, but it was too late"; on the Constitutional Amendment Act of Southern Ireland: "By this the British King is King of Ireland but not King of Ireland in Ireland, only outside of it. To find the solution, turn to the back of the book"; on the futility of organizations when the spirit of peace is absent: "A League of Nations is a rope of sand; a Concert of Europe is worse than grand opera." With this still irrepressible sense of fun (and I have given only three examples out of three hundred) are blended those homely references to local scenes that live in his affections—the streets of Montreal, student days at Toronto, teaching at Upper Canada and McGill. There is also the note of more sombre reflection occasionally heard in Leacock's later writing, like this on our falling birth-rate: "Old age with nothing to look back upon, nothing to lean upon, is poor stuff as compared with the old age that renews its youth and life and interests in its children and grandchildren. *Ask a few lonely old people going out with the tide.*" But generally he prefers to convey his reflections through humour and fantasy. Thus at the end of "Common Sense and the Universe," he imagines Theology, Philosophy and Science attending a funeral—the funeral of Dead Certainty.

> "Incomprehensible," murmurs Theology reverently.
>
> "What was that word?" asks Science.
>
> "Incomprehensible—I often use it. . . ."
>
> "Ah, yes," murmurs Science with almost equal reverence, "incomprehensible!"
>
> "The comprehensibility of comprehension," begins Philosophy, staring straight in front of him.
>
> "Poor fellow," says Theology, "he's wandering again; better take him home."
>
> "I haven't the least idea where he lives," says Science.
>
> "Just below me," says Theology. "*We're both above you.*"

And finally, what is most impressive, there is an undiminished buoyancy of spirit, an unimpaired sympathy with the common man, an unquenchable courage and faith in the future. The mere humourist has become, more definitely than ever before, the laughing philosopher.

No doubt the philosophy has its limitations. Leacock is a conservative, as is very often his friend the man in the street, or in the club window, or in the barber's chair. But conservatism has no monopoly of limitations, and if it suffers on occasion from hardening of the arteries or of the heart (diseases which Leacock always escaped), it is less prone to delusions than are some other philosophies. Realism tempered by sympathy, and lightened

and kept sweet by humour; and a spirit that refused to grow old, that remembered the past, its absurdities as well as its grandeurs, but still kept its eye fixed upon the future: these were the marks of Leacock's conservatism—a good example of a good type. To recognize this fact is not necessarily to accept all his conclusions, nor indeed any of them. To readers with leftist sympathies his posthumous book, *While There is Time: The Case against Social Catastrophe*, will probably seem to be an old man's defence of things as they are, and to almost every one the humour of the attack on socialism will probably seem misplaced as well as rather thin; but they must be impercipient readers indeed if they do not recognize in this work also the realism, the sympathy, the hope for the future, of which we have spoken. *While There is Time* is a short book, divided into chapters, but its technique is that of the essay in its ampler form, as practised, for example, by Macaulay. One more volume—a fragment—came from Leacock's pen before it dropped from his hand. It contains such pages of his autobiography as he succeeded in getting written, and the title, if it was not Leacock's own choice, is wholly in his spirit and manner: *The Boy I Left behind Me*.[1] The book presents a lively and illuminating picture of his early days on an Ontario farm, whither his family had migrated, bringing their household gods and a heavy freightage of class prejudice and preconceived ideas. It is the first chapter in the making of a great Canadian, built on generous lines, with no place for the sour and thwarting nationalism, the last (and worst) infirmity of colonial minds, that would set Canada at odds, in feeling, with the Empire. From the farm we move on to Upper Canada College sixty years ago, which dwelt to the last in Leacock's grateful memory, but unfortunately the chapter on his years at the University, which would have been full of interest, was not written, and he did not reach his career as a teacher at McGill. One is grateful for the few chapters written, and regrets deeply that there are no more.

II

We shall begin this section of "Remaining Material" with a group of books which are concerned with the military and political history of the war or with personal reminiscences of some aspect of it.

The Historical Section of the Canadian General Staff in Great Britain has published under the official auspices of the Department of National Defence the first two volumes of "The Canadian Army at War," a series of booklets designed to give the public somewhat fuller information than it has hitherto been possible to publish concerning the operations of the Canadian Army. These two volumes, published before the end of the war, are well written in a sober and matter-of-fact style, and are profusely illustrated with photographs and with reproductions, some in colour, of the work of official artists. Not their least attractive feature is their in-

[1]The book bears the date 1946, but it seems unwise to separate it from its companions.

expensiveness. The first volume, *The Canadians in Britain: 1939-44*, narrates the experiences and activities of the Canadians in the United Kingdom during their training period. There is a brief reference to the Dieppe raid (a special booklet about it may appear later). *From Pachino to Ortona*, which is well furnished with maps, records the campaign of the 1st Canadian Infantry Division, the 1st Canadian Army Tank Brigade and some ancillary troops in Sicily and Italy to the end of 1943. These booklets do not pretend to be a full-scale official history of the Canadian Army in the war. For such a work time and much study will be necessary (German documents and military histories will have to be studied). Let us hope that after this war the need for an official history of adequate scope and treatment will not be ignored as it was after the last war. In the meantime these volumes will be an interesting and creditable stop-gap.[2] If indices and a chronological summary of events could be added to later volumes it would greatly increase their usefulness.

In *The War: Fifth Year*, Edgar McInnis carries his general history of the Second World War down to September, 1944, recording the ebb of the German flood toward its source in three-quarters of the compass. Viscount Wavell had written an introductory preface for an earlier volume of this history when British fortunes were at their turning-point; to this volume Field Marshal Sir Henry Maitland Wilson contributes a prefatory analysis of the military and political situation as it must have appeared to the Germans in October, 1943, when the best the German leaders could now hope for was a successful defence of "Fortress Europa," which would result in a compromise peace. Militarily the most important decision of this year was probably Hitler's persistence in his determination not to draw in his lines voluntarily on the eastern front for the better defence of Germany. The consequence of this obstinacy is here recorded in the military *débâcle* which overwhelmed German arms on all fronts. From the Allied point of view, the greatest threat to victory now emerged in the growing need for Allied unity both in matters of co-operation in waging war and in long-term policy with respect to the future of Germany and of Europe and Asia. Professor McInnis deals soberly with the attempts made by the Allies to meet that need at the Moscow, Teheran and Cairo Conferences. He tells how on the whole the short-term problems of military co-operation were solved successfully. Problems of long-term policy were, however, becoming ever more acute as the Allied armies moved nearer to Germany and as the eventual defeat of the Axis could be more clearly envisaged. In these problems the divergencies of interest between Russia and her allies became more clearly marked, and the measure of agreement was disappointing.

[2] *Gauntlet to Overlord: The Story of the Canadian Army*, by Ross Munro, published in 1945, was reviewed in the QUARTERLY, January, 1946, p. 205, to which review the reader is referred. No. 45 of *Canada at War*, published by the Wartime Information Board, presents a statistical and factual recapitulation of the Canadian war effort.

The postponement of decision over a wide range of difficult problems forms an ominous undertone to the history of the fifth year of the war.

Even the best general history of the war can give only a partial view of the world struggle. In a history whose purpose is to picture the movements of armies, the interplay of gigantic forces, and the problems of generals and heads of states, what must be missing is the eye of the recorder focussed on a single sector of the front where the vast issues of the conflict become a concrete objective like the town of Falaise, a sector in which armies narrow down to battalions and, in the end, perhaps to a single individual who gives an order or holds a post at the cost of his life. We read, in Edgar McInnis's brilliant history, of the assault on the Caen hinge, which "served as a powerful holding attack which prevented the Germans from shifting any substantial force to meet the threat developing farther west." Here in a reasoned and tempered paragraph he fits in an important piece in the vast picture of the campaigns of 1944. But what of the men who battered their way down the Falaise Road, pitting flesh and blood and courage in one of the grimmest battles ever fought by the Canadian Army? Alan Wood in *The Falaise Road* takes the reader into the front line of battle and into the mind and heart of the soldier who fought there. This booklet, based on daily dispatches to a London paper, is simply yet vividly written by a correspondent who knows what details to notice and remember in order to show the human individual in battle. One can imagine some novelist a century hence scouring this book and others like it for telling details that will bring to life the long-forgotten passions and tensions of battle. The writer tells us of a tank sergeant, one of many who wore a black Homburg hat into battle; of the precise technical meaning of the phrase "concentrated stonk and murder"; of the German snipers who strapped themselves to the branches of trees with harness, "and sometimes when our own snipers fired at them they would sham dead, dangling inert from the harness all day and climbing down at night"; and he tells of how "listening-in on the frequencies our tanks and armoured cars use, gives you a vivid impression of what the phrase United Nations means. You hear a gabble of mixed languages: a burst of Polish at some Tigers sighted: a blunt Canadian voice suggesting artillery action: an Oxford accent announcing the Tigers have had it: and by twiddling the dial you may pick up instructions going out in French to the Maquis. . . ." A century from now (if there are still libraries and human beings) readers will pick out details of this sort from the personal accounts of this greatest of wars with the same wonder at a resurrected reality as we now feel when we read in an old book of how Mother Christian Davies, the *vivandière*, following the troops through a wood during the battle of Malplaquet, picked out of the bosom of her dress twigs that had been cut and showered down upon her by French musket-balls.

The best book of war experiences published this year and perhaps the best published in Canada during this war is William H. Pugsley's *Saints*,

Devils and Ordinary Seamen. This book really gives a landlubberly reader such as this reviewer the feel of life on the lower deck of the Royal Canadian Navy. Vicariously at least, the reader gets his sea-legs as the book goes forward from the first days of barracks and drill in H.M.C.S. *Cornwallis* ("Don't run, don't jump—FLY!"), through service in a destroyer, a corvette, a frigate, a cruiser, and finally in the fleet flagship, *Duke of York.* There are many aspects of the humours of war in this book; and the serious side is there too, though it is not allowed to take the centre of the page for long. There is a vigorous description of a storm and of the desperate struggle against ice during the winter convoys; the book is full of the customs, the jokes and the gossip of the lower deck; and men who had been in desperate action on ships of destiny like the *Jervis Bay*, the *Ottawa* or the *Haida*, wander in and out of the story with their yarns. The narrative is certainly not stiff; it is racy with idiom and bubbling with fun. In fact the writer takes a cheerful view of the war. A few readers may at times finds its tone a little too persistently cheery. But surely in war every one has to learn to take the rough side with a certain style, and the young man's style towards it is likely to be humorous. The private feelings—the tension, the fear at times, the weariness, the revulsion at the perpetual lack of privacy—he must button up behind a smile as well as he can for his own sake and for that of his shipmates. For as the writer puts it: "That's one of the first things a rating has to learn, to take a joke and keep smiling. That may not be his nature, but if he wants to get along in the ship he'll make it his nature." But if this is a young man's book written about young men (and men they are, not boys) it is at the same time a sincere account and when the occasion demands it the author can write soberly and with moving simplicity—as in this passage:

> They had met and mastered the tension of the endless alert at sea, being constantly keyed up with something deep inside you forever listening for the alarms to start ringing. Though the ocean looked as peaceful as a mountain lake, you could never be quite sure some U-boat captain wasn't drawing a bead on you through his periscope right at that moment, and lining up his torpedo tubes to fire. All hell might break loose the very next second without the slightest warning. That was how it had come to others. If it did not come this trip, then maybe the next one, or the one after that. The days at sea were monotonous and irksome, but your nerves were taut every minute of the time you were outside the harbor gates.

The text of Captain Leo Heaps's *Escape from Arnhem* is as vigorous and high-spirited as Leading Seaman Pugsley's, though there is far less of the humours of war and much of its grimness, together with an introspective curiosity about the emotions of war, which is, however, not permitted to become morbid. The tension of war is vividly described:

> I watched the face of the colonel as he slept. He was deep in sleep, yet his face was terribly awake. It had about it a twitch which contracted the portion from his left ear to his chin. And from between closed lips there came occasionally short and painful cries. The strain of battle could never leave his body. It would be with him for the rest of his days. His face was gaunt and intelligent in appearance, and in his waking hours it was calm and placid as a summer lake. Now the curtain on his face had been lifted and it was bare of all

protection. On it were little squirming figures of pain and suffering. In the field he was always the model of bravery. (When he was killed later by a stray burst of machine-gun fire, each man in the battalion lost a part of himself.)

The greater part of the book presents in swift-moving narrative the adventures of the Parachute Division at Arnhem, and the author's experiences in organizing the escape through the Dutch underground movement of many British soldiers who, after Arnhem, were wandering behind the German lines.

Wings of the Morning, by Jean Brown Segall, is the story of Wing Commander Mark Brown, D.F.C. and Bar, one of the great Canadian fighter pilots, who was killed in Sicily. His squadron, No. 1 Squadron R.A.F., which he later commanded, went to France in 1939, and there Mark Brown had the distinction of being the first Canadian in this war to shoot down an enemy plane. He was one of the small band of young Canadian enthusiasts who scrambled for their own air training, crossed the ocean at their own expense, and made their way into the R.A.F. before the war, to become a part of the nucleus of trained pilots who in 1940 saved the Island and the world. The core of the book is letters from Mark Brown to his family and friends with a running commentary by his sister, Mrs. Jean Brown Segall. . . . Louise Reid Spencer's *Guerrilla Wife* is the personal narrative of a Canadian who married an American mining engineer in the Philippines, and who lived in the hills of Panay Island for two years to avoid capture by the Japanese. This is a straightforward, modest and very human account of hardships, pluck and endurance. Of the small band of Americans some were caught and butchered by the Japanese. Mrs. Spencer tells of how an American missionary met death:

In the face of the Japanese soldiers, Mr. Covell had stood up and made a speech. He spoke first in Japanese and then in English. A frightened Filipino hiding in the bush at a little distance had been witness to the scene. Mr. Covell spoke out loud and strong, and the word "peace" had come to the hidden listener clearly. The Japs had been startled enough at Mr. Covell's courage and at his knowing their language to step back a moment and listen. Knowing Mr. Covell, our memories could fill in the scene. We knew what he would have said. All war, and everything remotely connected with war, is a sin against our Creator, who gave us all life. We are all human beings, made for peace, and those who kill must bear the brand of Cain upon their very souls. . . . Then, the missionaries started a hymn. [But the Japanese did not spare him.]

If death visited the refugees so did life. A child was born to one of them at a time when the Japanese were very close, and Mrs. Spencer writes: "I prayed that night as hard as I could that the Japs might leave us alone until Laverne could get some rest and recover her strength, so that we could hike again."

An entirely different sort of record of the war, but one not lacking in the human touch, is Les Callan's *Normandy and on . . . From "D" Day to Victory*. The author calls it a cartooniqué, and it is in fact a collection of the cartoons published in the Canadian Army newspaper, the *Maple Leaf*, under the caption "Monty and Johnny." In the last war the British Army

had its Bairnsfather; in this war the Canadian Army had Les Callan, not so well known to civilians as Bairnsfather, but certainly as familiar to thousands of Canadian soldiers as the breakfast-table comic strip to those at home. In a foreword General Crerar writes: "Those cartoons provided that helping of humour which no soldier should be long without. To be able to see the funny side of a situation, with death lurking around the corner, is a saving grace to a fighting man." The French language provides ammunition for some of the sallies. In the last war it was: "Ye ask the guid wife for twa oofs and gie her back ane." In this war, with Callan, "Coiffeur pour les dames" on a shop window is interpreted by the soldiers (who do not belong to the Vandoos) as follows: "Chee fellas! Come on. Here's coffee an' dames."

Two books, both of them dated 1944, raise problems to which history has already given a partial answer. M. H. Myerson discusses *Germany's War Crimes and Punishment.* The author explains the concepts of international law which are relevant to the problem of German war crimes and their punishment. This discussion is able and informative though many people have come to realize sadly that international law was never a legal system, but rather the human conscience striving to make itself articulate in the chaotic realm of international relations, and that it depended not upon the sanction of force (since there is no international sovereignty), but on a humane ethic which, for a time at least, has vanished from the world. (Billions for war, but only a small fraction of the food promised and needed to prevent starvation in Europe.) Mr. Myerson makes an assertion and asks a question: "There is, however, one salvation for the Germanic people—whole-hearted, sincere, thorough, soul-wrecking expiation. . . . Strange though it may sound, in this manner may the *vital interests* of Germany be saved; thus may the *national honour* of Germany be restored. Will it take place? Will the German national soul undergo this process of self-purification?" It is sad to reflect that two years have to some extent "dated" the question. It is probable that in the famine, displacement of population, suffering and chaos of Europe in April, 1946, there is room for little but the brute struggle to keep alive. If that struggle takes some ideological form it is only because man, whether well or sick, is still a political animal who is prone to express fundamental passions in terms of political ideologies. To cry "Peccavi" is to express oneself not in the language of politics, but of religion. At present the world is not on its knees either here or in Germany. . . . Vladimir Grossman devotes the main part of *The Pan-Germanic Web* to an historical analysis of the expansion of Germany. In a final chapter he advocates the dissolution of the German Reich as the only hope for peace after the war. Since this book was written "the threat of future peace" has turned out to be a hydra-headed monster.

We close this section devoted to books about the war by mentioning two collections of speeches. The first of these is the second collection of war-time speeches of the Prime Minister of Canada, from the beginning of

the third year of the war down to May, 1944, published under the title *Canada and the Fight for Freedom*. It begins with the Mansion House address, which is justly regarded as Mr. King's finest and most moving speech, and it ends with his address to the British Houses of Parliament. If Mr. King is not a great orator, he is a solid one. He does not achieve the winged phrases of Churchill, and probably he would not if he could (in Canadian politics winged phrases are liable to get a man into trouble), but there *is* emotion in Mr. King's speeches along with a great steadiness of purpose. To read these speeches is to relive many of the controversial issues of the war and to realize afresh how difficult a people we are to govern. . . . The Empire Club's *Addresses* is a collection of thirty-one speeches delivered to the Club on a variety of interesting topics, most of them connected with the war.

Before turning to books which deal with contemporary Canada and its problems it will be a useful preliminary to take note of Edgar McInnis's *North America and the Modern World*, whose first three sections show by narrative rather than by analysis, the rise and development of the twin forces of nationalism and democracy in Canada and the United States, and whose final section on recent world history shows "how the problems arising from the changing conditions of modern life, aggravated by the steady intensification of nationalism, brought into being new political creeds as rivals to democracy, and how the resulting challenge led directly to the Second World War." The book is designed as a class text for upper-school students who have previously had courses in British and Canadian history and who are ready for more advanced study of various aspects of self-government in Canada and the United States. The author's method is to allow his basic theme, which is stated in the Preface, to emerge from a concrete historical narration; interpretative analysis of events and trends in the light of the theme is usually left for the teacher to supply. The book should therefore offer the able and well-informed teacher scope to practise his art successfully. In the Preface the author notes the fact that political and constitutional, rather than social and economic, aspects of history are emphasized in the text. Here again an opportunity is given to the teacher to show the relations between the former and the latter.

Margaret Fairley's *Spirit of Canadian Democracy*, which deals in a different way with the historic growth of one of the twin forces Professor McInnis speaks of, may well be discussed at this point since it too reaches into the past to find some of the foundations of the present. It is an anthology of those Canadian writings which defended human rights, from the seventeenth century down to our own times. The earliest of the selections defend the rights of man and attack injustice, tyranny and race prejudice at a period when modern political democracy had not yet become a vital concept in the world, for the sense of justice certainly antedated the democratic concept. But after 1800 "democracy" appears more and more frequently in the text, and its implications underlie even those selections

where it is not named. It is clear, too, from the later portions of this book that the word has not been withdrawn from the currency of our own times; contemporary writers confidently use it in the knowledge that it is still the basic coin of our realm. Cynics (of whom the author is not one) should take note of that fact. In the twentieth-century selections the connotations of the word have been broadened to emphasize the social and economic rights of man. That is as it should be, provided that the new emphasis is not permitted to negate the political rights which, in Western democracies, have evolved round parliamentary institutions. Writers with varied political views are represented in the anthology: among them are Father de Carheil, Howe, Haliburton, Papineau, William Lyon Mackenzie, D'Arcy McGee, Laurier, Archibald Lampman, Tim Buck, W. L. Mackenzie King. Some of these writers, like Papineau, Mackenzie and Riel, were revolutionaries who took the way of violence; others, like Premier King, General Crerar and Air Marshal Bishop, could not, by any stretch of the imagination, be so described. In contemporary Canada all political parties, both of the Right and of the Left, are inclined to invoke the word "democracy" to support their platforms. The Left thinks that the Right uses the word to justify the special privileges of the moneyed class and to justify a laissez-faire economy that is really fascist. The Right, on the other hand, thinks that the extreme Left uses it to cloak the totalitarian intentions of those who would form a bureaucratic dictatorship inspired and directed from a foreign country. The fears of the Left are well represented in this book (and so they should be); the fears of the Right do not appear. "Democracy" is a great word which should not be misused or debased to cloak either rugged individualism or totalitarianism. Perhaps the word will outlive the ephemeral political jargon of our own day, whether of the Right or of the Left. Not a few of these selections will arouse the reader's indignation at past or present abuses—and it should be roused; for a smug or timid sluggishness was, in the thirties, our besetting national sin. All Canadians, whether they belong to the Right, the Centre, or the Left, or whether they are "*bourgeois*" or "proletarian" (or even if they are just plain human beings with minds and consciences, who dislike labels), should read this book to remind themselves that the rights of free men must be struggled for in each generation, and that not a few liberties which we inherited from the old land have had to be won over again in the new nation.

Four books, written from different points of view, present broad pictures of contemporary Canada. The point of view of Dr. Lorne Pierce, in *A Canadian People*, is that of a man who has for a quarter of a century been the editor of the Ryerson Press, in which position he has distinguished himself by the support and wise encouragement he has given to the arts in Canada. It has brought him close to the problems of a country which, during these years, has begun to emerge into maturity. In this book he sums up the impressions he has gathered and the opinions he has formed

during the period. This is a hard-biting and frank book and the author is ardent in support of his beliefs.

> For a quarter of a century I have tried unceasingly to build a covered bridge between East and West, between Catholic and Protestant, between French and English, in the hope that our nation might be invincible. I have sought to honour the real architects of our future greatness—the creative artists and writers of the Dominion. And I have implored our people, year in and year out, to grow up, to have the courage to be themselves. Looking back it all seems quite futile. . . . Yet it has seemed right to set down once and for all what I believe, and with all the energy I possess.

He is certainly energetic, sincere, and often blunt enough in what he says, for he believes that this is a time for plain speaking. "As a people we have no national sense of direction, of vocation, or destiny," and "the form of [national] suicide we have most to fear is the wilful negation of all belief, all religion, and all sense of direction of any sort." In his analysis of the discord between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians he spares neither.[3]

Canada: New World Power is a friendly account of Canada and its people by Louisa Peat, an American (Canadian by marriage) who paid us too short a visit to get more than a surface impression. She has been energetic in amassing facts and figures about us, and here and there, it must be admitted, she has gathered in some misinformation in the catch. She sees us with a tourist's eye, as picturesque "copy." There is a very little of everything about us in this book: our political parties, our religions, our dissensions, our public buildings (she is far too kind here), our B.N.A. Act, our godly Sundays, our welter, our underlying solidity, our "inferiority complex," and, contrariwise, our smugness (though she is far too polite to call it that). When unfavourable comments are to be made she quotes them from the mouths of Canadians. In a good many cases she is kind enough to correct or qualify our gloomy appraisals of ourselves. She ends her introduction in the form of a toast—"I give you Canada." We respond to her toast: "Here is to the friendly author of this book about Canada. May she visit us again, stay longer—and get to know us better."

This Nation Called Canada, by David B. Harkness, has a good deal of thought behind it, though none of the reflections are startlingly original. Its subject is Canada's evolving nationhood and her present and prospective relations with other nations. The writer thinks that no nation, other than Russia, has given a more spectacular demonstration of growth in productive capacity and power, but he asserts that Canadians "have not consciously appraised their nation according to the measure of their manifest capacity." He gives two reasons to account for this:

> In the first place Canada has been slow in coming to a sense of herself as a national entity because of the unhappy continuance of a political life that still anchors itself in her colonial

[3]Parts of this book were published separately; the section entitled "The Armoury in our Halls" was reviewed in "Letters in Canada: 1941" (see the QUARTERLY, April, 1942, p. 324).

history. The constitution under which her national life has developed has its rootage in the colonial conditions and psychology under which it was written. In the second place Canada's political leadership has been, with a very few notable exceptions, more absorbed with the exigencies of party government than with concepts of national unity and purpose or with a sense of international responsibility. Canada's failure to recognize that she has already attained the status of a near-great nation and that her manifest destiny is to become greater still subdues her voice in world councils.

Finally, in this group of descriptive and analytical books about Canada, we shall include a book of photographs edited, with a running text, by Donald Buchanan, and entitled *This is Canada*. The photographs are selected to symbolize the variety of Canadian landscapes, occupations and ways of living in different provinces.

It is remarkable that of the three major parties in Canadian politics the C.C.F. is the only one which approaches the public each year with a reasoned though controversial discussion, in book form and under the official auspices of the party, of its platform and policies. In 1943 we had *Make This Your Canada: A Review of C.C.F. History and Policy;* a year later, *Canadian Progressives on the March: The Story of the Rise of the C.C.F.;* and now, *Left Turn, Canada* comes from the pen of the party's leader, Mr. M. J. Coldwell, along with *Planning for Freedom* written by various members of the C.C.F. Since Miss Charlotte Whitton's critique of the Marsh and Heagerty Reports in 1943 (prepared at the request of Mr. Bracken, and enjoying, therefore, a quasi-official status as a discussion of the social reconstruction plans of the Progressive Conservatives) we have not had from either of the older parties a single book speaking authoritatively for that party as a whole. The collection of Mr. Bracken's political speeches, which appeared in 1944, is certainly useful to the inquiring citizen, but the speeches are too much tied to the specific occasion of their delivery to meet the need for a systematic discussion of the party's platform. One can perhaps make allowances for the desire of the Liberal party not to prejudice its responsibilities as the government by meeting the social challenge of the C.C.F. with a controversial presentation of its platform; its main responsibility has been to direct the waging of war. It is more difficult, however, to understand the silence of the Progressive Conservatives. What has happened to the social dynamism promised to the public at the Port Hope Conference? This reviewer would like to see the older parties take up the challenge of the C.C.F. in this particular field with something a little more dynamic than silence, however dignified. . . . *Planning for Freedom* is the annual discussion of the principles, policies and programme of the C.C.F. It states the party's attitude toward such problems as housing, health services, money, labour legislation, Dominion-provincial relations, foreign policy. Mr. Coldwell's book, *Left Turn, Canada*, assumes that the fundamental social policies of the C.C.F. are by now pretty widely known; it is therefore mainly concerned to present the party's point of view concerning specific problems and controversies of the past and the present. A selection of the chapter titles will indicate the variety of the subjects dis-

cussed: the conscription controversy; a foreign policy for a middle power; big business takes over the war; billions for peace; Saskatchewan, a case study in C.C.F. government; the returning veteran. In the Preface reference is made to two classes of enemies of the C.C.F.: "those who condemn it because it is not sufficiently socialist, and those who condemn it because it is socialist." It is certain that there is also a very large body of Canadian voters—perhaps a majority—who are neither enemies of the C.C.F. nor convinced supporters of it. This group (which is obviously not attracted by the Labour Progressives) is looking for a clear-cut social programme in this changing and chaotic age. Before it makes up its mind which party to support it wants to hear the platforms of the Liberals and the Progressive Conservatives presented systematically, comprehensively and authoritatively at a level above that of the political speech or the ephemeral newspaper editorial.

Since the beginning of the war the steadily increasing interest of Canadians in social planning has been remarkable. For this the controversial platform of the C.C.F. is partly responsible. It is however a general interest which is not confined to members of any single political party or class. This year several books and many pamphlets testify to that interest. *Youth and Jobs in Canada* was prepared by the Canadian Youth Commission, a private and independent body formed to study the main problems of young people from fifteen to twenty-four years of age, to draft reports and promote recommendations. The members of the Commission, whose names are printed at the beginning of this book, are well-known and responsible people. The first part, in which opinions of young people are quoted, is to this reviewer the most interesting, though it should be noticed that the reader has no way of knowing (since the Report does not give adequate information on the point) how representative of Canadian youth are the groups reached by the questionnaires. To judge by the evidence presented, the young people of Canada are exceedingly conscious of the last great depression and in discussing their problems "almost invariably put the prospect of employment in first place." The Report notes that "broadly speaking there are three major alternatives in national economic policy. Two of them are represented in the oft-debated issue of private enterprise vs. social ownership. The third may or may not be a true compromise, but it does come somewhere between, namely, government regulation." The third alternative is that favoured by most of the young people questioned. The majority think that the government should be the guarantee of employment opportunity and they do not think that the goal of full employment is within the reach of free enterprise. According to the Report these are some of the things the majority of young people want: minimum wages, equal pay for equal work, a shorter working day, earlier retirement (at about sixty) with independence secured, a better standard of living for farmers along with "rural reconstruction," the raising of the level of school-leaving age (to be compulsory and Dominion-wide),

equal educational opportunities, vocational guidance (with a large minority doubtful of its present efficiency), more vocational training ("Let's be practical"). On the whole they want the government job-placing services to be continued though with some qualifications ("No one should be forced to work at something he utterly dislikes"). In the remainder of the book, after discussing and advocating full employment as the basic solution, the Commission goes on to outline and make recommendations about special problems of youth.

Public Health and Welfare Reorganization in Canada, by Harry M. Cassidy, analyses the problem of reorganizing and developing the provincial and local health and welfare services so as to fit them into a national plan of social security. This book is a companion volume to Dr. Cassidy's *Social Security and Reconstruction in Canada*. In this volume he restates the plan for achieving these goals which he had presented in the earlier book, comparing and contrasting it now with the Marsh, Heagerty and Whitton Reports. Here he deals more concretely with provincial and local aspects of the problem, and also gives the subject a larger frame of reference by drawing on his knowledge of the problem as it appears in the United States. . . . *Street Gangs in Toronto*, by Kenneth H. Rogers, is a useful survey, by localities, of the activities of more or less organized "gangs" of boys in the Toronto area. The tendency of boys to congregate in groups is of course natural and inevitable. Granted good homes, decent housing, facilities for recreation (including adequate, and well staffed and equipped playgrounds), and a little interest and leadership from adults, the gregarious instinct will work for the good of children and teen-agers. The increase of juvenile delinquency, as is always the case during depressions and wars, is alarming. This report provides a partial explanation for that increase. In most cases the activities of tough gangs are due to a lack of some or all of the necessities mentioned above. The report severely criticizes some of the "Recreational Centres" in Toronto. The field workers had good success in gaining the interest and co-operation of many of the gangs. If there is much juvenile delinquency in a city the adults are always to blame—not some of the adults, but all of them. . . . We shall mention last in this group, but not least, an excellent pamphlet on *Community Centres in Canada*, by Marcus Adeney, Lionel Scott, Gwen Fife and William H. Conrad.

This year there is not space to discuss the many pamphlets (there are over sixty) on a wide variety of subjects.

III

As in the other later years of the war the crop of social studies published in 1945 was light, with little more than half-a-dozen worthy of mention. The outstanding book of the year is *North Atlantic Triangle* by Professor John Bartlet Brebner. This volume, reviewed by Professor Underhill in the QUARTERLY for January, 1946, is not merely important in itself; it brings to completion the large and excellent series sponsored by the Carnegie

Endowment for International Peace, and planned by the two Canadian-born professors at Columbia, James Shotwell and Bartlet Brebner. This series has been mainly an achievement of Canadian scholarship since most of the authors are Canadians, resident either in Canada or the United States. *North Atlantic Triangle* is virtually a synthesis for the whole series in its grand historical sweep, interpreting diplomatic history in terms of the geographic and material foundations of the North American community and the interplay of interests between the United States, Canada and Great Britain. It attempts to study Canadian history with reference particularly to its three-dimensional base. Professor Brebner begins with a chapter on the salient geographic features of the continent, moves skilfully to a discussion of the peoples and the rivalries, 1492-1763, and examines the forces operative within the Empire in North America from the British triumph in the Seven Years' War to the grand partition at the end of the American Revolution. Then through a dozen chapters he dexterously pursues the interplay of forces and the strategy of diplomacy within the triangle from 1783 to the maelstrom of 1932-42. He illustrates with freshness the basic fact that after 1867 Canada consistently played off Great Britain against the United States and that such diplomatic strategy was essential for the survival of Canadian national status. It may appear querulous to criticize a book which provides so much solid and significant matter. But Professor Brebner perhaps dwells overmuch upon the material forces, despite their importance. His achievement would be even more illuminating if he had dwelt less on the naked play of economic interests and the stark activity of material appetites, and more on the interweaving of ideas and philosophies throughout the whole English-speaking and North Atlantic world. Like-mindedness contributed immeasurably to the preservation of peace within the triangle and is the bedrock for that co-operation upon which the future peace of the world must rest.

History also but of a very different character is the *Letters of William Davies, 1854-1861*, edited with an introduction and notes by President William Sherwood Fox of the University of Western Ontario, with a preface by Dr. H. A. Innis. William Davies was an English immigrant of the Baptist faith who became a merchant in Toronto and founded a large and prosperous packing business. His letters, simple and terse in quality, are full of odd and at times interesting information, especially in respect to prices for pork, general trade, living conditions in Toronto at the middle of the century, the sundry wrangles in the Baptist community, and the general vicissitudes of the colony. Davies was a shrewd and very honest nineteenth-century puritan, with a strong acquisitive instinct. Many of his letters deal mainly with business transactions ably carried out and profits substantially made. Characteristic is the comment: "With regard to farming I was fool enough to allow my Laird (he is Scotch) to buckle me up too tight, but at the same time I took care to have a hole left that I can escape before he hurts me." Other letters range more widely, with sagacious

remarks on the current events of the time. The economic and social historians will look upon this as a useful volume. It presents, as President Fox remarks, "the only extant documents which have to do with the very beginnings of what is now one of Canada's greatest industries, meat-packing." There is also a human quality about the letters which will make the book interesting to others than the technical historian.

History is combined with biography in the posthumous work of Professor Arthur S. Morton, *Sir George Simpson, Overseas Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company*. This is a conventional, authoritative, straightforward biography, not brilliant (it is not the most distinguished of the late Professor Morton's books), yet illuminating on the character of Simpson, whose role in the history of Western Canada is important. The picture presented of Simpson is of a complex person who could be harsh in words but kind in deeds. His god was the Hudson's Bay Company, and he was always prompt to make the colony serve the interests of the fur trade. Western history also is McLoughlin's *Fort Vancouver Letters, Third Series, 1844-46*, a volume in the "Publications of the Champlain Society" and in all respects up to the high standard of this distinguished series and its two companion volumes. It is edited by Mr. E. E. Rich of Cambridge, with a valuable introduction by Dr. W. Kaye Lamb of the University of British Columbia.

A useful study is a *History of the Jews in Canada* by B. G. Sack, who covers in this, the first of two volumes, the story of Canadian Jews from the French regime to the end of the nineteenth century. Under a decree by Colbert in 1685 Jews were forbidden to settle in the French colonies; yet some of them found their way to French Canada, and after the conquest the number appreciably increased. Mr. Sack describes some of the principal families which came to the country, their origin and occupations. The history is mainly a chronology, and it indicates abundant research into the sources of information although it is not distinguished by a critical spirit.

A work of definite popularization rather than research is *The Discovery of Canada* by Lawrence J. Burpee, author of the classic *Search for the Western Sea*. The story here narrated begins with Leif Ericson and concludes with the exploration of the Arctic islands by Franklin, McClure, Amundsen, Larsen, and others of the modern period. The narrative is simple and easy, and the volume contains biographical notes and a bibliography.

Studies falling within the discipline of economics are few. Indeed no book of first-class importance was published on economics within the year. Significant and interesting, however, is a volume written by a philosopher, *The Philosophy of Business* by Professor Rupert Lodge of Manitoba, which in subject-matter is on the borderland of economics. Professor Lodge attempts a task that many members of his philosophical fraternity would doubtless dub as queer and misguided, remote from the proper and narrow path which the philosopher should scrupulously tread. Yet this book,

although its distinctions are sometimes not fruitful, was worth writing. It has broken fresh and difficult ground, and it is to be hoped that others will carry the theme further. Professor Lodge would never have ventured on his task but for his broad view of the content of philosophy and its relation to living men. "Philosophy," he writes, "is human life becoming aware of itself, of its inmost potentialities and laws." Or, again, he defines it as "life lived at the reflective level." Philosophy thus broadly interpreted is obviously related to business, and at the outset of his study Professor Lodge essays to present the realist, idealist and pragmatist philosophies of business. Then follow chapters upon the philosophy of the business man in the various manifestations of business activity. The usual philosophical categories, although useful, do not in their rigid forms adequately explain the business man. "The realist makes him look too much of an economic rationalist to be quite true. The idealist makes small business seem big; and the pragmatist makes big business look small." He who would understand business must fuse all three attitudes, and this is the venture of Professor Lodge.

In his *Economic Geography of Canada* Dr. A. W. Currie, formerly of the University of British Columbia and lately of Ottawa, draws carefully from the monographic and periodical literature on Canadian geography and commerce to present a lucid general text in economic geography. The book is on the obvious plan of describing each of the Canadian regions in turn, such as the Acadian, the Appalachian, the St. Lawrence Lowlands, and the Prairies. Despite an introductory chapter on "Canada as a Whole," the reader takes away from the book the impression of many regions rather than of a unified country. One certainly cannot deny the existence of the regions, but the influence of geography in bringing about a united Canada might properly receive more attention. The book has useful bibliographies and many maps, drawn from Dominion official sources, and it constitutes a valuable text, especially for students who are beginning a study of Canadian economics. Another volume, which in its eighteen chapters contains much solid matter and many wise remarks, is *Housing and Community Planning*, consisting of a series of lectures delivered at McGill University between November, 1943, and March, 1944. The series was planned by the School of Architecture of McGill. Several of the lectures were delivered by engineers and deal with some of the technical aspects of civic planning, such as community street systems and traffic, transportation and terminal facilities. Others take a broader sweep, such as the discerning lecture by Principal Cyril James on the economic background of housing and community planning, or that by Professor Everett C. Hughes on the problem of planning in Quebec, which is an examination of ethnic relations in that province.

Canadian Democracy in Action is a modest little book by Professor George W. Brown, which describes the institutions and working of democracy in its Canadian *milieu*. It is intended primarily for use in schools, but

it deserves to be read more widely as a vehicle of adult education. It begins with a chapter which defines democracy and freedom, and moves on skilfully to describe civil liberties, parliamentary government, federalism, the rule of law, and local government; it winds up with a discussion of Canadians as British and world citizens. Throughout a nice sense of balance is observed. Here and there reference to contemporary circumstances will necessitate revisions, but as a whole the book is a very useful and sage popularization. Professor Edgar McInnis's *North America and the Modern World* is treated above (section II) by Dr. Child, with other books on Canada and the outside world.

IV

Of the works falling within the area of Religion, Professor W. S. McCullough has furnished the following review.

"*See the Christ Stand*, by the Reverend R. C. Chalmers, has a misleading title (its sub-title is *A Study in Doctrine in the United Church of Canada*), but nonetheless it is a good book. In the first part the author presents an historical survey of the doctrinal ideas of Presbyterianism, Congregationalism and Methodism, bringing the treatment down, in each case, to the Canadian scene prior to 1925. He then offers a brief analysis of the theological sections of the Basis of Union of the United Church (1925). This is all fairly familiar ground, but it is covered in a fresh and illuminating way. The second part of the book appraises the principal currents of thought in the contemporary theological world. In these contentious matters the author is very judicious, though his own sympathies appear to be on the side of the New Supernaturalism. The book concludes with a discussion of theology in the United Church of today and an outline of the theological needs of that church in the future. Many of the observations here are valid and pertinent far beyond the confines of the United Church. The usefulness of the book could have been increased by the inclusion of an index.

"*The Sign of the Cross*, the 1945 Canadian Lenten Book published by the Church of England in Canada, came from the then Dean of Ontario (now Provost of Trinity College, Toronto), Dr. R. S. K. Seeley. Books for Lent run the danger of fustiness and sentimentality, but this admirable little volume is not of that sort. It is a thoughtful, challenging meditation, and withal very practical. The main contention is 'that the cross signifies for us a principle of liberation through suffering, a principle which was dominant in the life of Christ, and therefore must be dominant in the Church.'

"Professor J. M. Shaw of Queen's Theological College expounds his views on immortality in *Life after Death*. While he writes with great clarity, it is difficult to see how he adds appreciably to what has already been written on this old theological question. He is much too ready to assume that modern science encourages 'belief in the possibility of a future

life after the death of the present material body.' He admits that the blessed hope rests ultimately on faith in the character of God, minimizes the internal difficulties of the Resurrection narratives in the New Testament, and argues for the conditional immortality of all mankind.

"Six United Church clergymen have had sermons (or other religious essays) published during 1945, with varied results. Definitely high up in the group are the books by two distinguished Toronto ministers, *The Vicarious Life* by the Very Reverend George C. Pidgeon, and *Faith for These Times* by the Reverend W. Brewing. These volumes give us preaching at its best. *The Two-edged Sword* is by a younger man, the Reverend N. F. Langford. In many ways it is a creditable work, but there is the suggestion of a jeremiad about the book, which probably issues from the author's Barthian tendencies. 'The Word of God' is a fine old homiletic phrase, but its use is a good thing only when there is some appreciation of the necessity of interpreting the Bible historically and critically. *Life is Like That* is not technically a book of sermons. The author, the Reverend W. B. Creighton, was for thirty-seven years the editor of the *Christian Guardian* and later of the *New Outlook*, and these one hundred and thirty-four essays on moral and religious topics were originally published in the columns of those papers. They are not trenchant utterances, and their conclusions are often weak or tentative, but they reflect an informed mind and a kindly Christian spirit. *Our Prophetic Heritage*, by the Reverend E. M. Howse, contains seven sermons preached on the eighth-century Hebrew prophets. The material is scholarly and instructive, but it is otherwise without distinction as preaching. *The Gate Beautiful* contains the text of fifty five-minute devotional talks given over a Winnipeg radio station by the Reverend W. E. Donnelly. Such sermons over the air seem to fill a need, but their place in book form is not so evident. The author's over-abundant use of verse, some of it very bad, is exasperating.

"In *Young Canada and Religion* we have the report of the Canadian Youth Commission's[4] Committee on Religion. The Report deals statistically with the religiousness of young Canadians, their attitude to the Church, moral questions, etc. The Committee found it difficult to include French Canada adequately in its survey, and its data are therefore relevant only to English-speaking youth. Among its conclusions are that 'young Canadians are not irreligious' and that 'the influence of the Church is less effective than it was a generation ago.' The Report is a challenge to the churches and to those interested in religious education."[5]

[4]For another publication of the Commission, *Youth and Jobs in Canada*, see section II of this essay.

[5]"*Psalms Intimate and Familiar* was privately printed in Montreal in 1944. It gives the text of thirty-seven of the Old Testament psalms in the English Revised Version, with a good introduction to the Psalter by L. M. Lande. Mr. Lande is enthusiastic about his subject, but the black-letter script in which the psalms are set forth is not an aid to the reader. *A Booklet Dedicated to the Royal Canadian Air Force* is a thirty-two page brochure

On writings about the Arts in Canada Mr. Donald Buchanan supplies his annual note.

"This account of recent books on the fine arts and related subjects must perforce do less than full justice to what is going on in Canada today, for it is restricted to publications in the English language, and by far the most stimulating ventures in this field are now being undertaken in French by two Montreal publishers, Parizeau and l'Arbre.[6] There has been, however, at least one really good offering in English and that is the booklet, *Emily Carr: Her Paintings and Sketches*, being an introduction and catalogue to the memorial exhibition of that painter's works. This is a good catalogue, but also much more than that, for it contains, in addition, an excellent brief account of the artist's life by Ira Dilworth. He is able to bring alive the essential personality of the woman, to show the firm character and purpose that was the basis of her creative activity as a painter and as a writer. There is also an interpretation of the various stages of her work by Lawren Harris, and twenty-six full-page reproductions in black and white of all aspects of her painting, from studies in France to Indian villages and finally those impelling baroque compositions of the giant façades and dark corridors of West-Coast forests. This is a worthy record of a distinguished painter.

"Not quite as well printed, but nevertheless of great value as a catalogue, is *The Development of Painting in Canada*, which contains the account of the travelling exhibition of the same title, organized in 1945 by Canada's four principal art museums. Only brief paragraphs of explanatory notes are included, but they present at least a few essential points about the history of art in Canada. For such an important catalogue, the reproductions are not always quite as good as one might have wished. There has also arisen a controversy concerning disputed attributions of some of the earlier French-Canadian paintings, a controversy which has been covered at some length, for those who are interested, in a review of this booklet, by Marius Barbeau, which appeared in *Canadian Art* (Spring, 1945). The text of the catalogue is in French and English, in parallel columns, a desirable innovation.

"A new volume in the 'Canadian Art' series is *C. W. Jefferys* by William Colgate. It is a painstaking account of the work of a painstaking artist. While Jefferys today is better known for his historical illustrations than for his easel painting, the book shows how varied his career has been and gives full praise to that important group of paintings of the Canadian prairies, which he began in 1907. In his clean, simple treatment of the landscapes of the West, with its awe-inspiring distances, its dome-like sky, its crystal air in which everything is sharply defined, Jefferys was, in the years before 1914, a forerunner of that nationalism in painting which

of private devotions (in the evangelical tradition) privately printed in 1944 by Jean G. Wannop as a tribute to Wing Commander John Fulton, who was listed as 'missing' in 1942."

[6]For some account of these, see "French-Canadian Letters" (section II) in the July issue.

we associate with the Group of Seven. He, however, never followed this initial inspiration as far in clarity and impetus of creative purpose as painters like Jackson and Harris and Emily Carr were afterwards to do.

"A book by Jefferys himself, the second volume of his *Picture Gallery of Canadian History*, also appeared during 1945. It is much more a handbook for the study of Canadian history than, properly speaking, a collection of fine drawings. In fact, despite their accuracy of detail in uniforms, in costumes and scenic backgrounds, his historical reconstructions become very monotonous in their repetitions of rigid attitudes and dramatized poses. Of better intrinsic quality are those pages of outline drawings of pioneer machinery, of farm implements, furniture and decorative woodwork.

"A difficult undertaking was the attempt by D. G. W. McRae to sum up the history of Canadian architecture, painting, sculpture and handicrafts, in one slim volume of eighty pages, entitled *The Arts and Crafts of Canada*. As forty-two pages are devoted to architecture, the other arts can receive only the briefest of mention. What is said can hardly be called interpretative; it is no more than a bald summary of facts. The illustrations, of which there are many (a full fifty-six pages of photo-engravings), are uneven in quality of reproduction. A generous selection of all types of Canadian architecture is indeed shown, and good and bad emerge in revealing juxtaposition. But with seven photographs devoted to landscape gardening, might there not have been one photograph on war-time housing projects, or one of the better designs for public schools? The book definitely shows every indication of having been hastily thrown together; such a handbook was needed, but Canadian arts and crafts deserved a better one. A more successful attempt to condense the story of Canadian arts and crafts was made in the special Canadian issue of the *Studio* of London, England, which appeared in April, 1945. Yet as, on the whole, only contemporary work was mentioned, the task was easier. The method followed was to select the best possible examples of painting, handicrafts, architecture, sculpture, murals, industrial design, and to let the illustrations themselves tell most of the story. One need only compare the pages on handicrafts and industrial design in the *Studio* with those on the same subjects in Mr. McRae's book to see how an earnest effort to illustrate only the best examples results in a stimulating presentation of the essence of creative ability in this field, while a more motley collection of photographs can only emphasize mediocrity. The issue of the magazine is enlivened with some excellent colour plates, and is, on the whole, perhaps the best popular introduction to contemporary arts in Canada. Unfortunately, the issue was sold out upon publication and cannot be obtained, outside of libraries.

"If you pick up the pamphlet, *The Arts in Canada and the Film*, you will find little about the art of cinematography, except for one illuminating page on how cartoon or animated films are composed by the artists on the staff of the National Film Board of Canada in Ottawa. The rest goes first to such subjects as Canadian Landscape, 'West Wind,' Painters of Quebec,

which the Film Board made in kodachrome as a chronicle of certain Canadian painters and their works, and secondly to a series of motion pictures on folk music and handicrafts, of which Totems is undoubtedly of most interest as a record of primitive art.

"Combining nature study with photography has long been a speciality of that Canadian lecturer and naturalist, Dan McCowan of Banff. His latest book, *Outdoors with a Camera in Canada*, is perhaps the best arranged and best reproduced collection of photographs on wild life yet to appear in this country. With each picture there goes an accompanying page of text. These notes, while neatly done and satisfactory in their kind, nevertheless are too condensed to retain much trace of those whimsical references to the more startling or plainly human habits of birds and butterflies and mountain goats, which so enlivened the author's inimitable broadcasts over the CBC network. The book, all the same, concludes with a pleasing little essay in this tradition, on the life and hard times of 'An Aged Douglas Fir Tree.' The relation here as elsewhere between text and photographs is excellent. Why then did the dust cover, alone of the whole book, have to be so poorly designed?"

Among the new periodicals which commenced in 1945,[7] the most interesting is the *Northern Review*, which resulted from "the amalgamation of two wartime literary magazines, *Preview* and *First Statement*." The editors view with alarm the way in which the publishing trade and other agencies are exploiting an increased interest in Canada and Canadianism at home and abroad and are "manipulating copious and superficial Canadian authors into the ranks of the 'great'." To counteract this practice, they have launched one more "little magazine" dedicated to "the young writer who has something true and unpleasant to say." They aim at "a critical and artistic standard that in Canada exists only in the quarterlies—and there only spasmodically." for "valuable as the universities are in the field of history and scholarship they have only rarely shown themselves capable of sympathetic and intelligent understanding of the aims and accomplishments of our younger poets and story writers." Every one genuinely concerned for Canadian literature will wish this venture well, will pardon the priggishness and the unfairness that forget the services of such journals as *Saturday Night* and the *Canadian Forum*, and will sincerely hope that the *Northern Review* may not become the organ of a small clique or of a political faction. The names of the editorial board certainly suggest this danger, though two of them, Mr. A. J. M. Smith's and Mr. Ralph Gustafson's, offer some reassurance.

Two anthologies of contemporary writing reached us in 1945. In his Penguin volume, *Canadian Accent*, Mr. Gustafson tries, by critical essay, short story, sketch and poem, to illustrate "something of the variety, vigour, craft and originality of present Canadian writing." The result is interesting if not strikingly impressive. Only the poetry bears the unmistakable mark of distinction. The best thing in the volume is Mr. Pratt's "Come

[7]Noted in the Check-list at the end of this essay.

Away Death." Appropriately, this is followed by an essay on the "Originality of E. J. Pratt," by E. K. Brown. Several of the short stories have merit, and especially "Second Sight" by Sybil Hutchinson. On Canada's national identity in relation to literature and in relation to politics, Mr. Leon Edel and Mr. Lionel Gelber respectively write with wisdom, and the former in his usual admirable prose. The second anthology is Mr. Ira Dilworth's *Twentieth Century Verse*. Designed for use in Canada, it properly enough contains examples of Canadian verse, and it affords the student or the general reader an opportunity to compare our poets with those of the British Isles and the United States and judge them by a common standard. This is the volume's utility and its best apology.

The only important work of the year on a Canadian author is Professor Pacey's book on Grove, of which Mr. Philip Child furnishes the following review.

"*Frederick Philip Grove*, by Desmond Pacey, is a serious and worthy study of a living Canadian novelist; its appearance is a belated accolade and the partial payment of a debt owed to Grove by Canadian letters. Canadian letters owes him a debt for several reasons: because of the quality of his work, because he has never compromised his own sincerity in order to gain a cheap success, because in none of his novels has he spared himself and put forth less than his best efforts, and finally because he has had the courage to treat the realities of Canadian life without prettifying them and the finalities without sentimentalizing them. For these virtues he has paid the inevitable price: the writing of literature has not given him a living; instead it has brought him (though Grove does not wear his private feelings on his sleeve) a disappointment and a sense of futility which his effort does not deserve. 'In a "Postscript to *A Search for America*" Grove recounts his experiences while working recently as a common labourer in a canning factory. In the dirty washroom of the place he got into conversation with another worker, who turned out to be an Oxford graduate. "What brought you to this?" Grove asked. "Drink!" was the reply. "And you?" "Literature!" said Grove.' The smug and the comfortable who like to say that in the arts talent should suffer privation and disappointment in order to mature (no anaesthesia for childbirth in literature!) should be well satisfied with the arrangements made by fate and the Canadian public to foster Grove's career. Mr. Pacey's study and Grove's autobiography, which will appear shortly, will between them paint a vivid picture of the hazards of authorship in Canada.

"Mr. Pacey recounts how once, when Grove in his youth was travelling in Siberia, he 'met a wandering tribe of Kirghiz herdsmen. When these men had passed and were about a quarter of a mile distant they suddenly burst into song.' Grove thus described the effect this song had upon him:

> It was a vast melancholy utterance, cadenced within a few octaves of the bass register, as if the landscape as such had assumed a voice: full of an almost inarticulate realization of man's forlorn position in the face of a hostile barrenness of nature; and yet full, also, of a stubborn, if perhaps only inchoate assertion of man's dignity below his gods.

These words well express the tone of Grove's own best work. In the opinion of the present reviewer *A Search for America* and the prairie novels are his finest work. He is most successful when he uses the traditional technique of the novel. He is most himself when, as in *Our Daily Bread*, the narrative is solidly planted in a central character; there he paints a picture that has strength and simplicity and the kind of stark beauty that comes from an utterly honest grappling with the finalities of man's existence. *The Master of the Mill,* a late venture into impressionistic technique through the device of reminiscence, is only a qualified success (even though Mr. Grove treats an impressive variety of Canadian *milieux* that had not previously been treated) perhaps because the book lacks a firmly envisaged chronological datum of reference. It is not surprising that his best work should have been written in a traditional technique. As Mr. Pacey points out, after the age of twenty-one Grove had to write in isolation from other writers for many years and 'the stimulation and cross-fertilization which result from intercourse with fellow craftsmen' were denied to him. His defects as a novelist—and they are far outweighed by his virtues, of which they are, perhaps, the obverse—are an occasional stiffness in the dialogue and a lack in his books of the sunny side of humour. But then Grove has always been concerned to take an uncompromisingly tragic view of life. There is no facile optimism in his work and a Hardyan sense of fate broods over it. On the other hand his writing is never morbid. He sees life honestly, sanely and with profundity. Indeed he demands of his readers a seriousness to match his own, and the fit audience for whom he has written, the true lovers of literature, would never dream of giving his books less than that.

"Mr. Pacey thinks that in Grove's case 'literature, which in a moment of disillusion seemed only the ticket to the washroom of a canning factory, will prove his certain passport to immortality.' Immortality for any of the works of man is at the best no more than a figure of speech; to prophesy it for a writer is to challenge the Giant Indifference: for, to paraphrase a saying of the Buddhists, 'the dew-drop flows into the sea of the mediocre—and is lost.' There can be little doubt that the best of Grove's writing is memorable (and there is much of the best), but whether or not it will be remembered is another question. Canada has small regard for its own writers. Good books here are allowed to go out of print and be forgotten. The public is unaware of the fact that the spirit of a nation is embodied in its art and literature. And the universities, whose duty it should be to foster and guard the memory of what is good, have their eyes so firmly fixed on England and the United States that they are indifferent to the *pourparlers* for a culture in their own land. There is no chair of Canadian literature in any Canadian university and in the University of Toronto there is not to this day a single course devoted solely to the studying of the potentialities and actual achievements of Canadian literature—whether these be creditable or small. Most Canadian novels, good or bad, are a sacrifice to oblivion. If that is to be Grove's fate, he must at least know—

for what comfort there may be in the knowledge—that his work is a rich sacrifice."

We have quoted the complaints of Canadian writers, the sponsors of *Northern Review*, and now Mr. Philip Child. We are not concerned to defend the universities, but it is our duty to state three facts. (1) It is not the primary purpose of a university to foster a national literature, but at the undergraduate level to afford a liberal education, and at the research level to increase the sum total of human knowledge. From these activities honestly and zealously pursued the national culture, and so the national literature, receive their dividend in the current of true and fresh ideas of which they have always stood and yet stand in such urgent need. (2) In all the major Canadian universities Canadian literature has some place on the curriculum—the small place which its bulk and intrinsic merit deserve. To give it more than it deserves would be a betrayal of education. In view of the history and the present state of Canadian literature a chair in the subject would be an absurdity. What might be (and will be) done is to institute, as a joint venture of the Departments of History, English and French, and perhaps Economics and Fine Art, graduate seminars in Canadian culture past and present, and to encourage research in this field in which literature would be placed in its appropriate setting. At the graduate level also a systematic comparison might be instituted between Canadian literature and that of the sister Dominions. There is indeed plenty of useful and legitimate work to do without directing education towards propaganda. (3) English literature owes an immense debt to the universities. It was not fostered by chairs or courses in the contemporary product, but by the dividend of true and fresh ideas of which we have spoken, by the cosmopolitan standard fearlessly held forth, and by the enthusiastic interest of many students and some scholars in the new writers as they appeared, an interest by no means lacking in the universities of Canada.

The function of the universities at the graduate level is a principal subject of Professor J. B. Brebner's spirited report, *Scholarship for Canada.* Though initiated by the Canadian Social Science Research Council, the report does not restrict itself to the social sciences but ranges over a wide field, commenting freely on the humanities as well. It is in one aspect an interesting essay on higher education, inspired in some degree by the work of Mr. Brebner's colleagues at Columbia, Jacques Barzun and Mark Van Doran, but conscientiously directed to Canada. It is not highly factual, embodying, rather, general impressions of the Canadian academic scene. Nor is it arranged so as to conclude with a set of formal recommendations: it is more concerned with changes of outlook than with institutional reforms, and its directives are scattered through the different chapters. The underlying philosophy of education appears to be pragmatist. There is much talk of making Canada a more exciting place for scholars and of tolerating and even fostering eccentricity. Here the line of descent is clearly from John Stuart Mill through James and Dewey. But the pragma-

tism is tempered by much good sense, in which one fancies the counteracting influences of Toronto, Oxford, and that side of Columbia represented by Barzun, may be seen. *Scholarship for Canada* is not an easy book to summarize. The opening chapters emphasize the need for scholars in a healthy and progressive national state, and dwell on the ill effects for Canada of her steady export of scholars to the United States. Here there is a good deal of exaggeration, since it has made possible a confessedly more slender stream of academic imports in exchange and from Great Britain and France. The chapter on Undergraduate Foundations approves the product of Canadian honours courses, views with an insight born of experience the educational aim of their specialization ("Specialization is in fact a misleading term, for it is potentially the intellectual gymnasium in which the student acquires the intellectual muscles and stamina for almost any kind of challenge to his brains"), but nevertheless asserts the indubitable fact that a broader foundation in general knowledge is now required than many honours courses in their present form provide. On the organization and standards of existing Canadian graduate schools there are some trenchant comments. On the indifference of Canadian wealth to the claims of the community, and especially the claims of scholarship, Mr. Brebner must be quoted: ". . . It might be a good idea to republish in Canada . . . Andrew Carnegie's *The Gospel of Wealth* with its simple declaration that the men who have the knack of making large amounts of money owe it back to society and should . . . allocate it to the most intelligent possible public trusts. One generation of Canadian wealth apparently read that book after it came out in 1889 and, like Strathcona, did something about it, but few of the much wealthier later generations seem to have heard of it." The great American Foundations, which have dealt so generously with Canadian education and scholarship, will approve this admonition, which is long overdue. One wishes that one might quote further from Mr. Brebner's salutary pages, including those devoted to the Royal Society of Canada, to the need for a National Library (also discussed in an able memorandum by Elizabeth Defoe in *Canada Needs Libraries*), and to a variety of other subjects. Had it appeared before his report was written, Mr. Brebner would have perhaps found a good omen in the awareness of opportunities and of needed reforms revealed in Dr. Sidney Smith's *Let Knowledge to Wisdom Grow*, his Inaugural Address as President of the University of Toronto.

Of the four important works of scholarship and criticism to appear in 1945, three lie beyond the special competence of the present reviewer and are reserved for detailed examination in the July issue. They are *Pindar* by Gilbert Norwood, *Augustine's Quest of Wisdom* by Vernon J. Bourke and Bishop William C. White's *Bone Culture of Ancient China*. Formerly a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and now Director of Classical Studies in University College, Toronto, Dr. Norwood furnishes a timely illustration of the advantage enjoyed by Canadian scholarship in its importations from Great Britain. His *Pindar*, the Sather Classical Lectures delivered at the University of California, brings into happy con-

junction his learning, his literary criticism and his skill in exposition. It may well turn out to be, we think, his most memorable if not his most popular book. Dr. Bourke's volume, which appears in an American Roman Catholic series "Science and Culture," is the work of a scholar trained at the Institute of Mediaeval Studies and the University of Toronto. Chronological in arrangement, it deals with the successive phases of St. Augustine's development and introduces and examines the leading works (the anti-Pelagian writings, the treatise on the Trinity, the commentaries on Genesis, the *City of God*, etc.) at their appropriate place in the story. Based on wide knowledge, its chief appeal will be as a popular introduction to the study of Augustine's life and thought. Bishop White's volume is the latest in the series of monographs written by the Director of the School of Chinese Studies in the University of Toronto. Like its predecessors, it is a landmark in Canadian book production; for it is not only competently but beautifully produced by the University Press.

The third and last volume is *William Ernest Henley*, by J. H. Buckley. This is the work of a young graduate from the honours school of English Language and Literature at the University of Toronto (Victoria College), who went on to Harvard for further study and is now on the staff of the University of Wisconsin. This essay in criticism, and in intellectual and literary history, in the form of biography succeeds admirably in bringing before us, placing in his setting and explaining one who has sunk in popular memory to little more than the author of a single "dated" poem, "Invictus," but who in the eighteen-eighties and eighteen-nineties was a force in English letters. Indeed Henley, as Dr. Buckley demonstrates, is well worth study for his own sake and is essential for a just appraisal of his period. The introduction is an attempt to find the genesis of the "unconquerable soul" in the Activist philosophies of earlier Victorians. Whether wholly successful or not, it shows both freshness and skill in tracing the history of what is as much a sentiment as a concept. The next section turns to the personal experiences of poverty and suffering on which earlier biographies have been content almost exclusively to dwell; the third deals with the "search for style," the influence of Stevenson, and the interest in verse forms; the fourth is devoted to Henley's militant toryism and imperialism; the fifth presents the period of his most influential journalism and his leadership of a brilliant and clearly marked group of literary disciples, "the Henley Regatta," with a really excellent chapter on Henley's (by this time) well-defined principles of criticism, while the final section goes to an examination of his poetry. Primary credit for this very promising first book belongs, of course, to the author himself: he wrote it, and he writes well. Tribute must also be paid to the resources put at Dr. Buckley's disposal at Harvard, and to the attractive form bestowed upon his effort by the Princeton University Press. Perhaps also—at least one would hope that it might be so—one is right in detecting in the firmness and insight of his critical and historical method the result of a sound and stimulating undergraduate training.

CHECK-LIST OF TITLES

Adeney (Marcus), Scott (Lionel), Fife (Gwen) and **Conrad (W. H.),** Community centres in Canada; reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, Feb., 1945 (Toronto, Ryerson, 16 pp., 25c.). **Alberta, Province of, Department of Trade and Industry** and **Department of Economic Affairs,** Your opportunity in Alberta; with photographs (Edmonton, King's Printer, [64] pp.). **Art Gallery of Toronto, Art Association of Montreal, National Gallery of Canada, Musée de la province de Québec,** Development of painting in Canada, 1665 to 1945; in English and French (Toronto, Ryerson, 65 pp., $1.00 paper, $1.50 paper board). **Ashley (C. A.),** Corporation finance (Toronto, Macmillan, x, 62 pp., 75c.). **Baltzan (D. M.),** Principles of internal medicine (Toronto, Ryerson, xviii, 398 pp., $5.00). **Barnacle,** *pseud.*, Talks to the troops (Toronto, United Church Publishing House, 1944, 58 pp., 75c.). **Barteaux (Eleanor)** comp., Selected bibliography on problems of demobilization, adjustment and rehabilitation of men and women from the armed forces (Ottawa, Canadian Library Council and Wartime Information Board, 1944, 24 pp.). **Baskine (Gertrude),** Hitch-hiking the Alaska Highway (Toronto, Macmillan, 1944, x, 318 pp., $3.25). **Beaton (K. J.),** Making of a missionary; with art designs by Beatrice Kitchen (Toronto, United Church of Canada, Committee on Missionary Education, Room 514, Wesley Bldgs., 85 pp., 50c.). **Behind the headlines** pamphlets; vol. V published jointly by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Canadian Association for Adult Education, vol. VI by the Institute (Toronto, Associated Printers, 10c. each): vol. V, no. 1, Labour's post-war world, by Paul Martin (40 pp.); no. 2, Behind Dumbarton Oaks, by W. L. Morton (28 pp.); no. 3, Our diplomats at work, by Blair Fraser (32 pp.); no. 4, One million more jobs, by J. F. Close (28 pp.); no. 5, On terms of peace with Germany, by H. L. Robinson (24 pp.); no. 6, San Francisco—first step to peace, by I. N. Smith (32 pp.); no. 7, Trade for prosperity, by W. M. Drummond (20 pp.); vol. VI, no. 1, Canada and cartels, by V. W. Bladen (2[illegible] pp.); no. 2, The Japanese Canadians, by F. E. LaViolette (20 pp.); no. 3, Japan—our problem, by H. F. Angus (16 pp.). **Berkovits (Eugen)** and **Atkins (G. C.),** Key to full employment without regimentation (Toronto, Longmans Green, 81 pp., $1.50). **Black (N. F.),** What about the Jews?; with a foreword by C. E. Silcox (Toronto, Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1944, 56 pp.). **Boas, William S., and Co.,** Canada in World War II—post-war possibilities; illustrated (Montreal, the Company, 612 pp., $7.50). **Bouchard (T. D.),** The teaching of Canadian history; speech delivered at the Senate, June the 21st, 1944 (St. Hyacinthe, P.Q., Yamaska Printing Ltd., [1944], 24 pp.). **Bourke (V. J.),** Augustine's quest of wisdom: life and philosophy of the Bishop of Hippo (Milwaukee, Wisc., Bruce Publishing Co.; Toronto, Ryerson, xii, 324 pp., $3.00). **Brebner (J. B.),** North Atlantic triangle: the interplay of Canada, the United States and Great Britain (Relations of Canada and the United States series; New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press; Toronto, Ryerson, xxii, 386 pp., $5.50); Scholarship for Canada: the function of graduate studies (Ottawa, Canadian Social Science Research Council, 166 Marlborough Ave., 90 pp., $1.00). **Brennan (R. E.),** History of psychology: from the standpoint of a Thomist (New York, Macmillan, xviii, 278 pp., $3.00). **Brewing (Willard),** Faith for these times (Toronto, Collins, vi, 160 pp., $2.00). **Bridle (Augustus),** The story of the Club (Toronto, Arts and Letters Club, 14 Elm St., 84 pp.; for distribution to Club members). **Broderick (C. J.),** Opinions of a private citizen (Vancouver, Keystone Press, 24 pp., 25c.). **Brown (E. K.),** On Canadian poetry; 2nd ed., revised and enlarged (Toronto, Ryerson, xii, 172 pp., $2.25). **Brown (E. K.), Martin (Paul)** and **Scott (Frank),** Which way Canada?: a radio discussion (University of Chicago *Round Table*, 574th broadcast in cooperation with the National Broadcasting Company, no. 362, Feb. 25; Chicago, University of Chicago, 22 pp., 10c.). **Brown (G. W.),** Canadian democracy in action (Toronto, Dent, vi, 122 pp., 60c.). **Bruce (Graham), Heywood (R. H.)** and **Abercrombie (W. T.),** Business fundamentals (Toronto, Gregg Publishing Co., viii, 376 pp., $1.40). **Buchanan (Donald)** ed., This is Canada; with a preface by Morley Callaghan; 61 photographs (Toronto, Ryerson, 1944, [80] pp., $2.00). **Buckley (J. H.),** William Ernest Henley: a study in the

"counter-decadence" of the 'nineties (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press; Toronto, Saunders, xii, 234 pp., $3.50). **Burpee (L. J.),** The discovery of Canada (Toronto, Macmillan, 1944, x, 280 pp., $3.00). **Byerly (A. E.),** One hundred years at Knox Presbyterian Church, Guelph, Ontario, 1844-1944 (Guelph, the author, 1944, 56 pp., 85c.). **Byng, Viscountess, of Vimy,** Up the stream of time (Toronto, Macmillan, viii, 274 pp., $2.75). **Callan (Les),** Normandy and on . . . from "D" day to victory; with a foreword by General H. D. G. CRERAR (Toronto, Longmans Green, 126 pp., $1.00). **Calvin (D. D.),** A saga of the St. Lawrence: timber and shipping through three generations (Toronto, Ryerson, x, 176 pp., $3.00). **Canada, Dominion of,** Dominion-provincial conference on reconstruction, August 6, 7, 8, 10, 1945; plenary session, nos. 1-4 (Ottawa, King's Printer, 196 pp.); **Department of Public Printing and Stationery,** Annual catalogue of government publications, October 1st, 1945 (Ottawa, King's Printer, 144 pp., 25c.). **Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics,** Canada year book, 1945: the official statistical annual of the resources, history, institutions, and social and economic conditions of the Dominion (Ottawa, King's Printer, lx, 1200 pp., $2.00); Supply and demand in the professions in Canada; in English and French (Ottawa, King's Printer, 67 pp., 25c.). **Canada, Minister of National Defence,** The Canadian army at war (Ottawa, King's Printer, 25c. each): no. 1, The Canadians in Britain, 1939-1944 (172 pp.); no. 2, From Pachino to Ortona: the Canadian campaign in Sicily and Italy, 1943 (160 pp.). **Canada, Public Archives of,** Report of the Public Archives for the year 1944, by GUSTAVE LANCTOT (Ottawa, King's Printer, xlii, 154 pp., $1.00). **Canada, Wartime Information Board,** List of Dominion government publications: July to September, 1944 (20 pp.); October to December, 1944 (20 pp.); January to March, 1945 (18 pp.); **Industrial Division,** Partners in production: report on labour-management production committees in Canadian industry (Ottawa, King's Printer, 44 pp.). **Canada at war** series; published by the Wartime Information Board (Ottawa, King's Printer): no. 43, Feb., special pictorial edition on war-changed Canada (80 pp.); no. 44, Feb.-March (88 pp.); no. 45, July, Recapitulation issue (156 pp.). **Canada must choose,** a series dealing with our immediate problems (Toronto, Ryerson, 25c. each): Baby bonuses, dollars or sense? by CHARLOTTE WHITTON (ii, 48 pp.); Canada and world security, by VINCENT PRICE (vi, 42 pp.); Civvy street, red light or green? by O. T. G. WILLIAMSON (28 pp.); The Empire, yes or no? by GEORGE GRANT (34 pp.); Family allowances in Canada: facts *versus* fiction, by MARGARET GOULD (38 pp.); Revenge of the cradles, by C. E. SILCOX (ii, 28 pp.). **Canada Steamship Lines Limited,** Canadiana, a selection of Quebec views, drawn from the William H. Coverdale Collection of Historical Canadiana at the Manoir Richelieu, Murray Bay, P.Q., together with a group of French-Canadian furniture, handicrafts and woodcarvings from the Hotel Tadoussac, P.Q.; loaned by Canada Steamship Lines Limited, exhibited at the London Public Library and Art Museum, London, Ontario, November 10th to December 10th, 1944 (Montreal, Canada Steamship Lines, 1944, 18 pp.). **Canada-United States Committee on Education,** Education for mutual understanding and friendship between Canada and the United States; in English and French (Publication no. 1; Toronto, the Committee, c/o Canadian Secr., C. E. Phillips, Ontario College of Education, 16 pp.). **Canadian affairs** series; published by the Wartime Information Board, later Canadian Information Service (Ottawa, King's Printer, 20 pp. each): vol. II, no. 1, British Columbia, by G. F. DRUMMOND; no. 2, Where does labour fit in? by DAVID PETEGORSKY; no. 3, What's Japan to us? by H. L. KEENLEYSIDE; no. 4, Women after the war, by RENÉE MORIN; no. 5, Dominion health parade, by D. H. WILLIAMS; no. 6, Bullets and ballots, by I. N. SMITH; no. 7, A place to live, by HAZEN SISE; no. 8, A chance for world security, by H. G. SKILLING; no. 9, Business and post-war jobs, by S. C. SCOBELL; no. 10, House on the hill, by GEORGE HAMBLETON; no. 11, The people in business for themselves, by FRANK SHEFRIN; no. 12, The merchant marine, by E. F. B. WATT; no. 13, Conference for ten, by BORIS SWERLING; no. 14, Rising sun eclipsed, by J. S. HODGSON; no. 15, Science in the peace, by RAYMOND BOYER; no. 16, Learning for living, by MARTYN ESTALL; no. 17, Community centres, by FRED LASSERRE and GORDON LUNAN; no. 18, Can we pull out of Europe? by DAVID HEAPS. **Canadian**

Broadcasting Corporation, The soldier's return: a digest of talks heard on the CBC Trans-Canada network during the winter of 1944-1945 on Wednesday nights, after the National News Bulletin (Toronto, CBC Publications Branch, 48 pp., 25c.). **Canadian Catholic Historical Association,** Report, 1943-1944 (Ottawa, the Association, c/o the Secr. English section, J. F. Kenney, 133 Rideau Terrace, 156, 212 pp.). **Canadian Commonwealth Federation, Ontario Branch,** Planning for freedom: sixteen lectures on the C.C.F., its policies and program (Toronto, the Office, 1944, 180 pp., $1.00). **Canadian Historical Association,** Report of the annual meeting held at Kingston, May 23-5, with historical papers; edited by R. M. SAUNDERS (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 98 pp., $2.00). **Canadian Institute of International Affairs,** The nations have declared, the documents issued by the United Nations: part II, with comments by LORNA SAVAGE; part III, with comments by MARGARET AVISON (Toronto, the Institute, 36 pp. each, 15c. each); Report of the Institute's twelfth annual study conference, at Kingston, on May 26 and 27, with speeches by J.-C. FALARDEAU and F. W. POLAND (Toronto, the Institute, 23 pp., 30c.). **Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,** Decennial index, volumes I-X, 1935-1944; prepared by Mrs. K. W. KLAWE with the assistance of the Editorial Department of the University of Toronto Press (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 64 pp., $1.50). **Canadian Library Council,** Canada needs libraries; reprinted from *Ontario Library Review*, Nov., 1944 (Ottawa, the Council, c/o National Research Council, 1944, 45 pp., 30c.). **Canadian Shipbuilding and Ship Repairing Association,** Brief for shipbuilding, with recommendations; also in French (Ottawa, the Association, Box 545, Station B, 1944, 59 pp.). **Canadian Youth Commission,** Reports (Toronto, Ryerson for the Commission): Young Canada and religion (xiv, 114 pp., $1.00); Youth and jobs in Canada, with an introduction by R. E. G. DAVIS (xvi, 223 pp., $1.25). ***Cannell (Kathleen),** Jam yesterday (New York, Morrow; Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 238 pp., $3.75). **Cantelon (R. A.),** Edmonton, crossroads of the world: brief review of the city's development and its place in the post-war world (Edmonton, Civic Enterprises; Douglas Printing Co., 10060, 104th St., 1944, 80 pp.). **Carter (Dyson),** So you can't have health? (Toronto, Progress Books, 96 pp., 25c.). **Cassidy (H. M.),** Public health and welfare reorganization: the postwar problem in the Canadian provinces (Toronto, Ryerson, xiv, 464 pp., $3.50 paper, $4.50 cloth). **Catholic Pacifists' Association,** Blessed are the peacemakers (Montreal, the Association, 2115 Dorchester St. W., 1944, 128 pp.). **Chalmers (R. C.),** See the Christ stand!: study in doctrine in the United Church of Canada (Toronto, Ryerson, xvi, 307 pp., $3.00). **Chauvin (F. X.),** Founder of the C.C.F. (Windsor, Ont., the author, 354 Pierre Ave., 1944, 27 pp., 25c.). **Chernick (Jack)** and ***Hellickson (G. C.),** Guaranteed annual wages (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, x, 146 pp., $2.50). **Chisholm (R. F.),** Your own store and how to run it; illustrated by BERNARD OWEN, and with an introduction by EDGAR BURTON (Toronto, Oxford, vi, 80 pp., $1.00). **Cohen (Maxwell),** The Dominion-provincial conference: some basic issues (Toronto, Ryerson, 40 pp., 35c.). **Coldwell (M. J.),** Left turn, Canada; with an introduction by ERIC ESTORICK (British Commonwealth series; New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce; Toronto, Collins, xviii, 248 pp., $2.75). **Colgate (William),** C. W. Jefferys (Canadian art series; Toronto, Ryerson, 42 pp., 60c. paper, $1.00 cloth). **Colley (B. W.),** Reminiscences (Toronto, Church of England in Canada for the author, 286 Russell Hill Rd., 1944, 72 pp.; for private distribution). **Cowan (J. B.),** John Innes: painter of the Canadian west (Vancouver, Rose, Cowan and Latta, 748 Seymour St., 36 pp.). **Cowan (M. E.),** Rainbow of life (Ottawa, Canadian Research and Editorial Institute, 124 Wellington St., 52 pp.). **Cox (H. R. W.),** Greenhorns in blue pastures; ill. by L. S. WAKEFIELD (New York, Smith and Durrell; Toronto, Copp Clark, xii, 162 pp., $3.40). **Creighton (D. G.),** Founders' Day address, University of New Brunswick, nineteenth February: writing of history in Canada; with opening remarks by Hon. C. H. BLAKENY (Fredericton, the University, 18 pp.). **Creighton (W. B.),** Life is like that (Toronto, Ryerson, xii, 254 pp., $2.50). **Cuppage (E. M.),** Island trails: highways and byways on Vancouver Island, B.C.; with art work by MAUDE PAGET (Victoria, the author, 1558 Beach Dr., 36 pp.). **Currie (A. W.),** Economic geography of Canada (Toronto, Macmillan, xvi, 455 pp., $3.50).

Davies (R. A.), Inside Russia today (Winnipeg, Contemporary Publications, 333 Portage Ave., 96 pp., 25c.). **Democratic way** pamphlets; published by Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship and Canadian Association for Adult Education (Toronto, 10c. each): no. 7, Democracy and the political party (23 pp.); no. 8, How we hold elections (20 pp.); no. 9, Parliament, lawmaker for Canada (20 pp.). **DeWolfe (L. A.)**, The education we pay for (Truro, N.S., the author, 1944, 116 pp.). **Dexter (Grant)**, Conscription debates of 1917 and 1944: an analysis (10 pp.); Family allowances: an analysis (19 pp.) (Winnipeg, *Winnipeg Free Press*, n.d.). **Dilworth (Ira)** ed., Twentieth century verse: an anthology (Toronto, Clarke Irwin, xxxiv, 485 pp., $3.00). **Dominion Bridge Company,** Of tasks accomplished: story of the accomplishments of Dominion Bridge Company Limited and its wholly owned subsidiaries in World War II (Montreal, the Company, 126 pp.). **Donnelly (W. E.)**, The gate beautiful: radio talks from the studios of CKY (Winnipeg, the author, Young United Church, 104 pp., $1.50). **Duff (Annis)**, "Bequest of wings": a family's pleasures with books (New York, Viking Press; Toronto, Macmillan, 1944, 204 pp., $2.75). **Dunham (Mabel)**, Grand river (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 299 pp., $3.00). **Emory (F. H. M.)**, Public health nursing in Canada: principles and practice (Toronto, Macmillan, xx, 554 pp., $3.00). **Empire Club of Canada, Toronto,** Addresses delivered to the members during the year 1944-45 (Toronto, the Club, 14 Elm St., xii, 487 pp.). **England (Robert)**, Canadian re-establishment benefits for veterans; supplement to Discharged: a commentary on civil re-establishment of veterans in Canada (Toronto, Macmillan, 1944, viii, 22 pp., 25c.). **Eylands (V. J.)**, Lutherans in Canada; with an introduction by the Most Rev. Franklin Clark Fry (Winnipeg, The Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Synod in North America; Winnipeg, Columbia Press, 328, vii pp., $3.00). **Fairley (Barker)** ed., Gottfried Keller, Der Landvogt von Greifensee; with an introduction (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, xxii, 109 pp., 7/6). **Fairley (Margaret)** ed., Spirit of Canadian democracy: collection of Canadian writings from the beginnings to the present day; decorated by John Hall (Toronto, Progress Books, 319 pp., $3.00). **Farthing (the Right Rev. J. C.)**, Recollections (Toronto, General Board of Religious Education of the Church of England, 191 pp., $1.50). **Fox (W. S.)**, A century of service: history of the Talbot Street Baptist Church, London, Ontario, 1845-1945; with a foreword by the Rev. A. C. Archibald (London, the Church, xvi, 103 pp.); ed., Letters of William Davies, 1854-1861; with a preface by H. A. Innis (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, xviii, 144 pp., $2.00). **Ganong (S. B.)** ed., Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island, a monograph by William Francis Ganong, revised and enlarged from the author's manuscript notes; first published in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, second series, 1902-1903 (Monographic series, no. 3; Saint John, N.B., the New Brunswick Museum, xx, 126 pp.). ***Gard (R. E.)**, Johnny Chinook: tall tales and true from the Canadian West; with an introduction by Donald Cameron (Toronto, Longmans Green, xx, 360 pp., $3.50). **Graham (Clara)**, Fur and gold in the Kootenays (Vancouver, Wrigley Printing Co.; Vancouver, the author, 3460 Welwyn St., xiv, 206 pp., $3.00). **Grocholski (J. S. W.)** ed., Preliminary survey on integration of the Canadian racial, cultural and nationality groups from the standpoint of Canadians of various origins other than British or French (Toronto, *Canadians All* Research Division, 305 Kent Bldg., 1944, iv, 31 pp., n.f.s.). **Grossman (Vladimir)**, Pan-Germanic web: remaking Europe (Toronto, Macmillan, 1944, x, 180 pp., $2.00). **Gustafson (Ralph)** ed., Canadian accent: collection of stories and poems by contemporary writers from Canada (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Eng.; New York, Penguin Books, 1944, 144 pp., 9*d.*; no longer obtainable in Canada). **Hackett (W. T. G.)**, Bretton Woods (Toronto, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 56 pp., 35c.). **Haggerty (Florence)**, History of the Haggerty family and early Irish history bearing on the family (Regina, the author, 2328 Lorne St., 1944, 32 pp., $1.00). **Haig (K. M.)**, Brave harvest: life story of E. Cora Hind, L.L.D. (Toronto, Thos. Allen, x, 275 pp., $2.50). **Harkness (D. B.)**, This nation called Canada (Toronto, Elliott Press, 60 Front St. W., xx, 172 pp., $2.00). **Harman (H. M.)** and **Upshall (W. G.)** comps., Story of the Church of St. George the Martyr of Toronto, Canada, 1845-1945 (Toronto, the Church, 205 John St.,

52 pp., $1.50). **Harvard University, Library,** Canadian collection at Harvard University; edited by W. I. Morse (Bulletin no. 1, 1944, 48 pp.; Bulletin no. 2, 1945, 62 pp.; Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Printing Office). **Hastings (W. H.),** Natural resources of Saskatchewan (Regina, King's Printer for the Department of Natural Resources and Industrial Development, 113 pp.). **Heaps (Leo),** Escape from Arnhem: a Canadian among the lost paratroops (Toronto, Macmillan, 159 pp., $3.00). **Heeney (Canon W. B.),** Secret of power: addresses on the Holy Spirit (Toronto, Ryerson, 1944, 33 pp., $1.00). **Henderson (C. L.),** England remembered (Montreal, the author, 1452 Bishop St., 47 pp., $1.00). **Horan (J. W.),** On the side of the law: a biography of J. D. Nicholson; with drawings by James Nicoll (Edmonton, Institute of Applied Art Ltd., 1944, vi, 280 pp.). **Howse (E. M.),** Our prophetic heritage (Toronto, Ryerson, iv, 66 pp., 75c.). **Irvine (William),** Is socialism the answer?: the intelligent man's guide to basic democracy (Winnipeg, Contemporary Publishers, 96 pp., 25c.). **Jackson (Gilbert)** and associates, Canada's burden of taxation: pre-war and post-war (Toronto, Oxford, 24 pp., 25c.). **Jefferys (C. W.),** Picture gallery of Canadian history: vol. II, 1763 to 1830; assisted by T. W. McLean (Toronto, Ryerson, xviii, 272 pp., $2.00). **Kerr (A. T.),** Canada's co-ops (Toronto, Ryerson, iv, 58 pp., 25c.). **King (Rt. Hon. W. L. M.),** Canada and the fight for freedom; with introductions by Eric Estorick and B. K. Sandwell (British Commonwealth series; Toronto, Macmillan, xxvi, 326 pp., 1944, $3.00). **Kiriline (Louise de),** The loghouse nest; with drawings by Thoreau MacDonald (Toronto, Saunders, 173 pp., $2.50). **Knott (Leonard),** Children's book of the Saguenay; ill. by Jacques Gagnier (Montreal, Editorial Associates Ltd., 1122 Beaver Hall Hill, [32] pp., $2.00). **Lagacé (Anita),** How Grand Falls grew (Grand Falls, N.B., the author, 77 pp.). **Lande (L. M.)** ed., Psalms intimate and familiar; transcribed by Frank Wise (Montreal, National Multigraphing and Printing Inc., 1944, viii, 112 pp., $2.00, lithographed; limited ed.). **Langford (N. F.),** The two-edged sword: sermons (Philadelphia, Westminster Press; Toronto, Ryerson, 194 pp., $2.50). **Leacock (Stephen),** The boy I left behind me (Garden City, New York, Doubleday and Co.; Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1946, 184 pp., $2.50); Last leaves; with a preface by Barbara Nimmo (New York and Toronto, Dodd Mead, xxiv, 213 pp., $2.75); While there is time: the case against social catastrophe (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, vii, 136 pp., $2.00). **Lingard (C. C.)** and **Trotter (R. G.),** Peace with progress: reports of the 1945 meetings of the I.P.R. and B.C.R. conferences (Toronto, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 43 pp., 35c.). **Lodge (R. C.),** Philosophy of business (Chicago, University of Chicago Press; Toronto, Gage, xiv, 432 pp., $5.50). **Looking ahead** series, Canadian post-war affairs; published for the Canadian armed forces by the Wartime Information Board (Ottawa, King's Printer): no. 1, Home as we'll find it (32 pp.); no. 2, The job we've done (46 pp.); no. 3, Our next job (64 pp.); no. 4, Canadian hurdles (84 pp.); no. 5, Government by the people (64 pp.). **McClung (N. L.),** The stream runs fast: my own story (Toronto, Thos. Allen, xviii, 316 pp., $2.50). **McConnell (Stanley),** I speak for the centre (Toronto, Commonwealth Publishers, viii, 152 pp., $2.00); The new age of power (Toronto, Commonwealth Publishers, viii, 48 pp., 50c.). **McCowan (Dan),** Outdoors with a camera in Canada (Toronto, Macmillan, 104 pp., $2.00). **McGill University,** Housing and community planning: series of lectures delivered at McGill University, November 2, 1943—March 21, 1944; planned by the School of Architecture and the Committee on Extension Lectures with the cooperation of the government of the Province of Quebec (McGill monograph series, no. 4; Montreal, the University, 1944, 210 pp.); Selling tomorrow's production: series of lectures delivered at McGill University, Montreal, October 2, 1944—October 11, 1944; series planned and arranged by the School of Commerce and the Advertising and Sales Executive Club of Montreal, with the co-operation of the McGill Associates and the Graduates Society (McGill monograph series, no. 5; Montreal, the University, 80 pp., $1.00). **McInnis (Edgar),** North America and the modern world (Toronto, Dent, x, 478 pp., $2.25); Oxford periodical history of the war (Toronto, Oxford, 25c. each): no. 21, July to September, 1944

(pp. 281-377); no. 22, October to December, 1944 (pp. 1-98); no. 23, January to April, 1945 (pp. 99-185); The war: fifth year; with an introduction by Field Marshal Sir Henry Maitland Wilson (Toronto, Oxford, xvi, 402 pp., $2.50). **McRae (D. G. W.)**, Arts and crafts of Canada (Toronto, Macmillan, 1944, 80 pp., $2.50). **Marshall (M. V.)**, Learning how to study (Wolfville, N.S., Acadia University, Extension Department, 26 pp., 25c.). **Martin (Paul)** ed., A lifetime of public service: brief biographical sketch of Mackenzie King (Ottawa, the editor, Office of the Secretary of State, 48 pp., 25c.). **Matthews (J. S.)**, Remembrance Day, 1944: service of the armed forces and citizens, Vancouver, Canada (Vancouver, City Archives, 14 pp.). **Millstone (M. S.)**, Law of bills of sale, conditional sales and chattel mortgages in Ontario, 1945 (Toronto, Blackstone Publishing Co., 455 Spadina Ave., $2.00). ***Moore (P. H.)**, The castle buck: hunting and fishing adventures with a Nova Scotia guide (Toronto, Longmans Green, xiv, 300 pp., $3.50). **Morrison (H. M.)** and **Whitworth (F. E.)**, Guide to reading on Canada for high school teachers and students of social studies (Ottawa, Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship, 166 Marlborough Ave., 116 pp., 50c.). **Morton (A. S.)**, Sir George Simpson, overseas governor of the Hudson's Bay Company: pen picture of a man of action (Toronto, Dent, 1944, xii, 310 pp., $4.50). **Munro (Ross)**, Gauntlet to overlord: story of the Canadian Army (Toronto, Macmillan, xiv, 477 pp., $3.00). **Mutch (John)**, The living way to God (Toronto, Ryerson, 1944, 44 pp., 15c.). **Myerson (M. H.)**, Germany's war crimes and punishment: problem of individual and collective criminality (Toronto, Macmillan, 1944, 272 pp., $2.50). **National Conference of Canadian Universities,** Report on post-war problems, adopted at the meeting held at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ont., June 13th, 1944 (Toronto, the Conference, c/o the Secr.-Treas., A. B. Fennell, Registrar's Office, University of Toronto, 1944, 72 pp.). **National Film Board of Canada,** The arts in Canada and the film (Ottawa, the Board, 16 pp.). **National Film Society of Canada,** History and development (Ottawa, the Society, 172 Wellington St., 1944, 6 pp.). **National Gallery of Canada** and **Art Gallery of Toronto,** Emily Carr: her paintings and sketches; with a biographical sketch by Ira Dilworth and a chapter by Lawren Harris on the paintings and drawings (Toronto, Oxford, 64 pp., $1.00). **Needler (G. H.)**, John Galt's dramas: brief review (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 39 pp., 50c.). **New Brunswick, Province of, Committee on Reconstruction,** Report; chairman, N. A. M. MacKenzie (Fredericton, King's Printer, 1944, 476 pp.). **Nielsen (D. W.)**, New worlds for women (Toronto, Progress Books, 1944, 112 pp.). **Norman (Howard)** and **Vancouver Consultative Council for Co-operation in Wartime Problems of Canadian Citizenship,** What about the Japanese-Canadians? (Vancouver, the Council, Room 813, Dominion Bank Bldg.; Toronto, United Church Publishing House, 32 pp., 10c.). **Norwood (Gilbert)**, Pindar (Sather classical lectures, vol. XIX; Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press; Toronto, Clarke Irwin, 302 pp., $2.50). **Nova Scotia, Province of, Royal Commission on Provincial Development and Rehabilitation,** Report; commissioner, R. MacG. Dawson (2 vols.; Halifax, King's Printer, 1944, 1400 pp., $16.00). **Okanagan Society for the Revival of Indian Arts and Crafts,** Native Canadians: plan for the rehabilitation of Indians, submitted to the Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment, Ottawa (Oliver, B.C., the Society, c/o the Secr., Mrs. A. Miller, 1944, 20 pp.). **Ollivier (Maurice)**, Problems of Canadian sovereignty from the British North America Act, 1867, to the Statute of Westminster, 1931 (Toronto, Canada Law Book Co. Ltd., xi, 491 pp., $5.00). **Onraet (Tony)**, Sixty below; with an introduction by Dr. Thomas Wood (Toronto, Jonathan Cape, Nelson, 1944, 192 pp., $2.50; also published as Down north, London, Eng., Jonathan Cape, 1944, 157 pp., 8/6). **Pacey (Desmond)**, Frederick Philip Grove (Canadian men of letters series; Toronto, Ryerson, x, 150 pp., $2.25). ***Peat (L. W.)**, Canada: new world power (New York, McBride; Toronto, McLeod, 294 pp., $3.50). **Picking (F. J.)** and **Morris (Allan)**, What happens now?: the veteran's guide (Toronto, Canadian Veteran Publishing Co., 1 Wellington St. W., 50c.). **Pidgeon (the Very Rev. G. C.)**, The vicarious life:

sermons from the pulpit of Bloor St. United Church (Toronto, Oxford, xii, 187 pp., $2.50). **Pierce (Lorne)**, A Canadian people (Toronto, Ryerson, x, 84 pp., $1.00 paper boards, $1.50 cloth); Prime ministers to the book (Beverley papers, no. 8; Toronto, Ryerson, 1944, 12 pp.; for private distribution). ***Pound (Arthur)**, Lake Ontario (American lakes series, edited by *M. M. QUAIFE; Indianapolis, New York, Bobbs-Merrill; Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 384 pp., $4.50). **Pugsley (W. H.)**, Saints, devils and ordinary seamen: life on the Royal Canadian Navy's lower deck (Toronto, Collins, xiv, 241 pp., $3.00). **Queen's University**, Principal's report, 1944-45 (Kingston, the University, 112 pp.). **Reed (T. A.)**, The blue and white: record of fifty years of athletic endeavour at the University of Toronto (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1944, xvi, 320 pp., $3.00). **Rennie (Barrie)**, Wild flowers: reproductions in full colour of fifteen wild flowers painted for *Canadian Nature* (Toronto, *Canadian Nature*, 177 Jarvis St., $1.00). ***Rich (E. E.)** ed., Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee: third series, 1844-46; with an introduction by W. K. LAMB (Hudson's Bay Company series, vol. VII; Toronto, the Champlain Society, 1944, lxiv, [360] pp.). **Richardson (E. M.)**, We keep a light; with decorations by WINIFRED FOX (Toronto, Ryerson, 260 pp., $3.50). **Rivard (E. S.)**, Notes on the life of Rev. Laurent E. Rivard, by his son; with a preface by J. L. MORIN (Montreal, Janes-Rondeau Printing Service, 494 Lagauchetière W., 1944, xi, 80 pp., $1.25). **Robertson (J. K.)**, Atomic artillery and the atomic bomb (New York, D. Van Nostrand Co.; Toronto, Copp Clark, xiv, 173 pp., $2.75). **Robinson (Noel)**, History of the Art, Historical and Scientific Association, Vancouver's first cultural association (Vancouver, the Association, c/o the Secr., T. P. O. Menzies, City Museum, 1944, 20 pp.). **Rogers (K. H.)**, Street gangs in Toronto: study of the forgotten boy; with a foreword by the Hon. Mr. Justice R. S. ROBERTSON (Toronto, Ryerson, x, 114 pp., $1.25). **Rose (D. M.)**, St. George's Church, Oshawa, consecrated Tuesday, 12th September, 1944, by the Most Reverend D. T. Owen (Oshawa, Ont., the author, St. George's Church, 1944, 16 pp.). **Roy (J. A.)**, Is there a Scottish literature? (Kingston, Queen's University, 16 pp.). **Royal Canadian Academy of Arts**, Report for 1944-45 (Montreal, the Academy, the Secr.'s Office, 1207 Bleury St., 12 pp.). **Sack (B. G.)**, History of the Jews in Canada from the earliest beginnings to the present day: vol. I, From the French regime to the end of the nineteenth century (Montreal, Canadian Jewish Congress, 1121 St. Catherine St. W.; Toronto, Central Region Office, 150 Beverley St., 285 pp., $3.00). **Sage (W. N.)**, Graduate training in arts in Canadian universities, with special reference to requirements for the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees (Ottawa, Canadian Social Science Research Council, 166 Marlborough Ave., 1944, 40 pp.). **Sanders (B. H.)**, Emily Murphy, crusader ("Janey Canuck"); with an introduction by NELLIE MCCLUNG (Toronto, Macmillan, xx, 355 pp., $3.50). **Saskatchewan, Province of, Reconstruction Council**, Report; chairman, F. C. KRONKITE (Regina, King's Printer, 1944, 269 pp.). **Scott (D. C.)**, In the village of Viger; ill. by THOREAU MACDONALD; first Canadian ed. of the original, published by Copeland and Day, Boston, 1896 (Toronto, Ryerson, viii, 114 pp., $2.50). **Scully (H. D.)**, Living with our neighbours: address delivered before the Periodical Press Association at its 26th anniversary dinner, Toronto, May 17th (Toronto, the Association, 137 Wellington St. W., 20 pp.). **Seeley (the Very Rev. R. S. K.)**, Sign of the Cross: meditation on the place of the Cross in human living; with a foreword by the Most Rev. DERWYN T. OWEN (Toronto, Church of England in Canada, 604 Jarvis St., viii, 87 pp., 75c.). **Segall (J. B.)**, Wings of the morning (Toronto, Macmillan, xviii, 152 pp., $2.00). **Service (Robert)**, Ploughman of the moon: an adventure into memory (New York and Toronto, Dodd Mead, viii, 472 pp., $4.50). **Shaw (J. M.)**, Life after death: the Christian view of the future life (Toronto, Ryerson, x, 110 pp., $2.00). **Smith (I. N.)**, J. F. B. Livesay: a memory (Ottawa, the *Ottawa Journal*, 1944, 50 pp.). **Smith (S. E.)**, Let knowledge to wisdom grow (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 16 pp., 25c.). **Spencer (L. R.)**, Guerrilla wife (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co.; Toronto, Oxford, 209 pp., $3.00). **Squires (W. A.)**, History and development of the New Brunswick

Museum (1842-1945); with an introduction by Dr. J. C. WEBSTER (Administrative series, no. 2, Publications of the New Brunswick Museum; Saint John, the Museum, 42 pp.). **Stead (R. J. C.),** Words (Winnipeg, Public Press Ltd., 290 Vaughan St., 21 pp., 25c.). **Strange (Kathleen),** With the west in her eyes: story of a modern pioneer; new ed.; added are a foreword by the Lady TWEEDSMUIR and an epilogue by the author (Toronto, Macmillan, 293 pp., $1.00 paper, $2.75 clothbound). **The Studio,** The art of Canada (Special issue, vol. CXXIX, no. 625, April, 1945, pp. 97-138; London W.C.2, Eng., The Studio Ltd., 66 Chandos Place; New York, The Studio Publications Inc., 381 Fourth Ave.). **Stursberg (Peter),** Journey into victory: up the Alaska Highway and to Sicily and Italy (London, Harrap, 1944, 160 pp., 8/6; Toronto, Oxford; out of print). **Thorburn (E. M.)** and **Whitton (Charlotte),** Canada's chapel of remembrance (Ottawa, Thorburn and Abbott, 1944, 64 pp., 50c.). **Toronto Public Libraries,** Canadian catalogue of books published in Canada, about Canada, as well as those written by Canadians, with imprint of 1944; no. 23, compiled by KRYSTYNA ZBIERANSKA and ELDRED FULTON (published as a supplement to the *Ontario Library Review;* 62 pp., 50c.). **Toronto Public Library Board,** Reading in Toronto, 1944: being the sixty-first annual report for the year 1944 (Toronto, Ryerson, 54 pp.). **Tory (H. M.),** Canadian citizenship: text of an address to the Canadian Club of Montreal, March 19 (Ottawa, Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship, 16 pp., 5c.). **Tranter (G. J.),** Plowing the Arctic: being an account of the voyage of the R.C.M.P. 'St. Roch' through the North West Passage from west to east (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1944; Toronto, Longmans Green, 1945, 311 pp., $3.50). **United Church of Canada, General Council,** Report of the Commission on Church, Nation and World Order presented to the eleventh General Council, London, Ontario, 1944 (Toronto, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, 299 Queen St. W., 1944, 83 pp., 25c.). **University of Toronto,** President's report, for the year ending 30th June, 1944 (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1944, 146 pp.); The University of Toronto: post-war expansion programme (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1944, 32 pp.). **University of Western Ontario,** Report of the President, academic year 1944-1945 (London, the University, 79 pp.). **Voaden (Herman)** ed., On stage: plays for school and community; with an introduction (Toronto, Macmillan, xviii, 445 pp., 95c.). **Wannop (J. G.)** comp., Booklet dedicated to the Royal Canadian Air Force (Vancouver, the author, 2632 Alberta St., 1944, 32 pp.). **Webster (J. C.),** Edinburgh memories and Robert Louis Stevenson (Shediac, N.B., the author, 1944, 19 pp.; for distribution to friends). **White (W. C.),** Bone culture of ancient China: archaeological study of bone material from northern Honan dating about the twelfth century, B.C. (Museum studies, no. 4; Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology; Toronto, University of Toronto Press, xiv, 234 pp., $5.00). **Williamson (E. R. L.),** Freedom from fear: can it be achieved in Canada? (Ottawa, the author, Box 1052; Montreal, Provincial Publishing Co., Canada Cement Co. Bldg., xiv, 120 pp., $1.00 paper). **Wilson (G. E.),** How to plan the home you want (Toronto, Collins, 96 pp., $1.00). ***Wood (Alan),** The Falaise road (London S.E. 10, Eng., Merritt and Hatcher, 1944, 6-14 Blackheath Road; Toronto, Macmillan, 1945, 64 pp., $1.00).

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